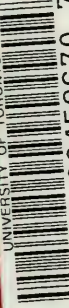


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Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society.

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FELIX FABRI

(CIRCA 1480—1483 A.D.).

VOL. II.
(PART I.)

Translated
BY
AUBREY STEWART, M.A.



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THE BOOK OF THE WANDERINGS OF BROTHER FELIX FABRI.

THE PLACE WHERE IT IS SAID THAT THE TREE GREW
FROM WHOSE WOOD THE CROSS WAS MADE.

WE now departed from the birthplace of St. John, and, leaving the valley by which we had come to that place, climbed up the high ground on the side towards Jerusalem, and came into a delightful and fertile valley wherein once stood the priestly city of Nob, where David ate the shew-bread, and received the sword of Goliath, [b] as is written in 1 Sam. xxi. and Matt. xii. Saul the king destroyed this city, and put every man therein to death, even the sucking babes, and slew eighty-five priests thereof with the edge of the sword; for it was a city of priests, as we read in 1 Sam. xxii. This did he because they had given David the bread and the sword. From thence we came to a fair church, adjoining which is a small monastery, wherein dwell Georgian monks with their wives. When we entered into the church, we were led up to the high altar, which altar is said to stand on the very spot where grew the tree of the holy cross: wherefore also the church is consecrated in honour of the holy cross, and is called the Church of the Holy Cross. Beneath the altar is a pit, into which we bowed ourselves down, kissed the earth, and received plenary indulgences (††).

We received refreshment from this pit, for from it there breathes forth an odour, which tempted us to linger long over our kissing the place. They also brought to us an arm of St. Barbara, which we kissed. This is the sweet spot whence grew that sweet wood, worthy of divine honour, which, though they knew it not, the ancient idolaters prefigured by a type; for when they determined to make an image of God, they carefully decided that it must not be made of gold, silver, or stone, but of wood, as being the most fitting material. This we read in Eusebius, *De Evangel. Praeparat.*, Book III., ch. iii.

After we had prayed, we sat down in the churchyard to rest for awhile, for we were still fasting, and the heat began to be great. Some of the pilgrims went into the hovels of those monks and asked if they had anything cooked. But we saw neither kitchens nor cooking-pots in those hovels, for the men are exceeding poor. Meanwhile there came a Saracen carrying a basket full of grapes, which we bought and ate together with the bread which we had brought with us in our srips, and we drew water from the monks' cistern. Near this place stand many olive-trees, and there is a little wood of olive and fig trees. They say that Solomon had a garden in this place also, and that sometimes he would drive hither from Jerusalem in his golden chariot to enjoy it. So when we had regained our breath, we mounted our asses and went up to the top of the hill, over a rough and rocky road, and when on the high parts of it we beheld the Holy City at a distance from us, and we passed by the house of Simeon, by roads leading between the dry stone walls of gardens. On our way, as we drew near to Jerusalem, we entered a village among these stone walls, which offered us a wide road; but for what cause I know not, a black and half-naked Saracen placed himself in the middle of the way, piled stones

into a heap, and, holding them up, threatened to cast them at the company of pilgrims should any one of them go along that road. At his shouts and threats the whole host halted for about half an hour, and our guides strove with him and shouted in answer to him ; but he took no notice whatever of them, and with the greatest fury boldly flung stones against all who offered to go forward. ‘Oh,’ thought I, ‘if you were thus to stand in the road unarmed in our part of the world, and stop the way of one of the least of these nobles, how quickly would you have a sword or an arrow in your side!’ But in these Eastern parts it is not so ; for the Easterns are men of a different kind to us, or, rather, our rules of life are not like theirs ; they have other passions, other ways of thinking, other ideas ; their bodies are of a different complexion ; they are influenced by other stars and a different climate. So it was that this poor, unarmed, naked man forced a whole host to retreat, and we went back a long way, turning our backs to Mount Sion, until we came to another road, whereat we turned round and went towards Jerusalem, having a valley between us and the Holy City. We circled round this valley and came into Jerusalem across the Fuller’s Field, reaching Mount Sion in time for the service of Mass. Howbeit, the brethren had delayed their service on our account, that we might take part with them in divine service on this day. After service was over every man betook himself to his own place to dine.

A CHAPTER ABOUT THE GOING DOWN OF THE PILGRIMS
TO JORDAN.

After dinner, the pilgrims heard that the captains of the galleys had it in their minds to take the pilgrims back to sea in their galleys, as though the pilgrimage were now over. I straightway divined the secret, for it is the

practice of captains of galleys not to take one to the Jordan; so they always devise many difficulties and stumbling-blocks to turn away pilgrims from this pilgrimage to Jordan. When all the pilgrims were met together on Mount Sion, we addressed the captains, begging them not to refuse to lead us to the Jordan, especially because the contract which we had made with them expressly contained this, in article 'ten,' that they should be bound to lead us to the Jordan without raising any objections, as is shown on page 34 *a*. In answer to this the captains said that they were unable to deny that this agreement had been made at Venice, but that if they had known at Venice the dangers which threatened, they never would have agreed to that article. They then began to describe three dangers: (1) that they were certain that the Arabs were lying in wait for us on the road to the Jordan, and were ambushed in the wilderness of Jordan to attack us there. (2) They said that in these places there was no church, no place of prayer, no indulgences. (3) They said that on that road we should find neither water, nor bread, nor any place fit to rest in, and that it was a very hot time of year, and that labour during such great heat was dangerous and hazardous to men's lives. (4) They raised difficulties on the ground that they would thereby incur great additional expense, seeing that the captains are bound to pay daily wages to the guides and ass-drivers as long as we remain in the Holy Land; and these men demand especially high pay for their labour when they go with us to the Jordan. Howbeit, they did not openly put forward this fourth reason, but we suspected that they had invented the others because of this. The first, second, and fourth objections we cared little for, but the third objection is reasonable and true; for this pilgrimage is hard because of the want of necessities and the greatness of the heat, and noble knights

who are weakly lose their health, and are brought back to Jerusalem sickly, and thence return sickly on board of the galleys ; [b] so that when they put to sea they die, being unable to endure the tossing of the sea when weakened by these toils. This, indeed, is certainly true, that the pilgrimage to the Jordan kills many pilgrims, who do not, indeed, die near the Jordan, but return from it sickly, and perish on board of their galley, whereas they never would have perished had they remained in Jerusalem. I never should advise any pilgrim, whose life hath any value in his own eyes, to visit the Jordan, no matter how strong he may be, because in both my pilgrimages I have seen many nobles and strong men fall sick and perish.

In my first pilgrimage we passed one entire day in wrangling with the captain of our galley and our dragoon, because they would not lead us to the Jordan, and the pilgrims and the captain became so bitterly enraged one with another, that they ground their teeth, insulted one another with most evil words, and bandied to and fro reproaches and foul and outrageous imputations, to the great scandal of the Saracens who stood by listening to them. There were some Frenchmen, exceeding passionate men, who threatened to slay the captain, and to stir up the King of France to make war upon the Venetians. Wherefore the captain, yielding to their importunities, sent them away, and would not come with us, but let us go alone with the Saracens. Herein he acted most traitorously, not like our defender, but like our betrayer. Nevertheless, by the protection of God, we returned to Jerusalem without losing any of our number ; albeit many were rendered sickly, the greater number of whom died at sea. Even so in my second pilgrimage they raised difficulties for the space of two hours, but when they saw that we were obstinate and unmoved by their dissuasion, they agreed, saying that they

would furnish us with food and drink, and were willing to set out on the morrow, if we were ready. Wherefore we deposited all our money in the cell of Brother John of Prussia, and made ready for our journey.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM JERUSALEM
ON THEIR WAY TO THE HOLY RIVER JORDAN.

Early in the morning, on the nineteenth day, before it was light, we rose and went over to the church of the blessed Virgin in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and there, as it was the Sabbath day,¹ we took part in the service of the blessed Virgin, and afterwards went up to Mount Sion for the convent service. In the afternoon, after dinner, we received our scrips in the courtyard of the church of Sion, and awaited our guides and our asses with their drivers. At last, after a tedious time of waiting, when the time of vespers was come, they came with their beasts to lead us to the Jordan. When they were come, the pilgrims ran to the beasts to provide for themselves. Now, there arose a quarrel between a knight and a priest about an ass, which each one said that he had got first. The knight struck the priest many blows with his fist, and had he had a sword, he would have wounded him. The knight drove him away from his ass, and incurred excommunication, from which, however, he was released by the Father Guardian [194 *a*] immediately before our departure. When all was finished, we went down from Mount Sion into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, crossed the brook, and climbed up the other side by the valley which parts the Mount of Olives from the Mount of Offence. On our way they pointed out to us an ancient house built of vaulted work, in ruins, which they said was the house of the traitor Judas. We viewed and scorned this house, as though it were the house of him that

¹ Saturday.

hath his shoe loosed, who was despised in Israel; for in Deut. xxv. it is appointed that if the brother of him that is dead without children will not raise up seed unto him, then let his brother's wife loose his shoe from off his foot, and spit in his face, and thereupon his house was called the house of him that hath his shoe loosed. This law was fulfilled by the Apostles, seeing that every one of them undertook the unwonted office of raising up children in the Church, not unto themselves, but unto Christ, and to be called after His name. This did the Apostles after Christ; but Judas, because he would not raise up seed unto his brother, is deprived of all his goods; and the Church, which is the wife of Christ, spits in his face, casting him aside, and choosing Matthias in his room; wherefore he hath left behind him nothing save the house of him that hath his shoe loosed, ruinous and despised. Wherefore, blessed be the saying in Prov. xvii.: 'He that seeketh after avarice confoundeth his house.' With displeasure we passed by this accursed house, 'for it is a rebellious house' (Ezek. ii.).

THE PLACE WHERE THE LORD CURSED THE FIG-TREE
FOR THAT HE FOUND NO FRUIT THEREON.

Leaving the aforesaid house behind us in the valley, we went on between the dry stone walls of gardens and orchards, and at the bottom of the valley, where, if you go further on, you ascend, we came to a delightful orchard, wherein stood a multitude of fig-trees, and the boughs of the fig-trees hung over the stone walls into the road. This is the garden where Jesus saw the fig-tree from afar, when He was going along this road on His way from Bethany to Jerusalem, and was an hungered. He entered into the garden and came to the tree, seeking fruit; but as He found only leaves, He cursed the tree, and straightway it withered away, as we read in Matt. xxi. When His

disciples wondered at this, He said unto them, ' Verily I say unto you, if ye have faith, ye shall not only do this which is done to the fig-tree, but also if ye shall say unto this mountain, Be thou removed and cast into the sea, it shall be done.' When the Lord said this, He pointed with His finger to the Mount of Olives, at whose foot these things were done. Wherefore in this place we knelt in prayer, and after having worshipped God, we received indulgences, and were edified by spiritual discipline, reflecting how perilous it is to have the name of a Christian or of religion without the fruit, seeing that the curse of God will fall heavily upon such, for they are dry branches prepared to be burned in everlasting fire. Going forward from hence, we came to Bethany, the village of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, through which we passed at a quick pace. This place is described on page 213 *a*. From this village we went down into the desert of Monstat, down rough roads and dangerous hills. Night was now coming on, for the sun had set, and we wished [*b*] to rest somewhere until the moon rose, because of the roughness of the road. When we came lower down it was dark, and we came to a great vaulted house, having round about it within a cloister like a monastery, deserted and empty. Near this house we dismounted from our asses, that we might rest therein for a little while, and we entered therein, carrying lights to seek for a place wherein to rest, but found none, for that the house was ruinous and full of filth and vermin; so we came out again and lay down upon the earth in front of the house, separated into our several companies, while our Saracen guides also separated themselves from us and rested a little higher up. These guides were followed by some ill-conditioned youths who hated us, as will appear hereafter. Now, after we had all eaten our supper together, we put out the lights, laid our heads upon our srips, and

began to sleep. Meanwhile a young Saracen secretly and thievishly came down in the darkness into the host of the pilgrims, snatched away the scrip of a pilgrim whom he believed to be asleep, and ran away with it to his own people; but that pilgrim and his fellows ran after him shouting, and he got his bag back again. Some time after another came secretly down and stole a scrip, wherein was bread, cheese, smoked meat, and hard-boiled eggs. When the pilgrim found this out, he began to cry aloud and call upon the other pilgrims to help him. Hereupon the pilgrims arose, and many of them ran furiously towards the Saracens, and so much noise and riot began that the Saracens were forced to keep off the pilgrims from themselves with staves and swords, and both sides picked up stones; but as yet no one began to throw them, because, had one stone been thrown, beyond all doubt a most dangerous fight would have taken place, for there were endless numbers of stones there, exceeding smooth and fit for throwing. So each stood over against the other and shouted. The captains of the galleys and the dragoman with great toil restored peace, and had now to quiet a disturbance in one place, and now in another, because the Saracens had begun to annoy many people. When this riot was appeased and all were silent, a Saracen began to throw stones into the host of the pilgrims from a hiding-place. Hereupon we all started up again, ran to get stones, and called with loud shouts upon the dragoman and the captains to defend us from these robbers. Some of us threw stones among the Saracens, whereat they were enraged, and came down with drawn swords and forced us to drop the stones which we had picked up. Howbeit the dragoman Sabothytanco, the chief Calinus, seeing that both sides [195 *a*] were exceeding wroth one with another, and were grinding their teeth, ordered the whole host to

rise and depart: so we mounted our asses and left that accursed spot. The Lord Jesus mentions the dangers of this place in the tenth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, where He speaks of him who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho and fell among thieves. Of this more will be found hereafter, on page 211 *a*. Yet, we were in some respects in even greater danger, because we brought our thieves with us at our own charges. We could have endured strange thieves, for it is said 'the worst enemies are those who are of a man's own household.' Now, that house beside which we had wished to rest had once been an inn of the Eastern fashion, for they build great houses beside the highways, with many stables below and chambers above, for man and beast to rest in, and the house stands with its gate open, without any inhabitant or any furniture; and when strangers are passing by, they can enter therein, and rest in the shade, and eat whatever food they bring with them: for there is neither man nor woman cook therein. Indeed, the camels who bear burdens have certain stages, beyond which they will not go, but rest at the end of them, and at these places there usually stand such inns as these for man and beast to rest in. In the East a man will find no inns beside these empty rest-houses, wherein is nothing save what a man brings into them; and it seems as though the Eastern inns had always been rest-houses of this sort, wherefore we read in Gen. xlii. about the brethren of Joseph, that when they were in the inn, one of them opened his sack to give his ass provender; also in Exod. iv. the Lord sought to kill Moses in an inn. Moreover it was in an inn of this sort that the Lord was born (Luke ii.). So we set out from that inn, and were glad that we had left the place, because we should have passed the night there in jeopardy because of the attacks of the Saracens. Meanwhile the moon had

arisen, and at a great pace we went down the dangerous road, down glades and steep rocks. On roads like this asses know how to travel easily and without falling, and how to let themselves down rocks with their fore-feet with wondrous cleverness, in a way which is impossible for a horse. The roads in this desert are stony, generally high and narrow, with deep valleys on either hand, so that should the beast fall down the steep stones he would fall into some deep abyss, and man and beast perish together. I wondered at the women who accompanied us, that they should ride so boldly, seeing that a woman is timid by nature. There was a Saracen woman who rode with us as far as Jericho, young and well dressed after their fashion ; but no one could see her face, because her face was covered with a black cloth, which was transparent, so that nevertheless she could see us. At last, at the end of the descent, we came into the plain country of Jericho, which begins at the foot of the mountains of Israel, passed through Jericho at a run, and went down through Gilgal for about three hours, [b] riding through the plain country, till we came to the wilderness of Jordan, through which we went down to the channel of the river Jordan. Here we gave up our asses to their drivers, and withdrew from the Saracens, who established themselves among the bushes to take their rest, while we went down into the bed of the holy river as far as the water, wherein we cooled our hands, and then laid us down to rest on the sand, where we rested in peace for a little while, for the day was not far off.

THE DIVINE SERVICE OF THE HOLY RIVER, WHICH
WAS CELEBRATED ON ITS BANK.

On the twentieth, which was the eighth Sunday after the feast of the Holy Trinity, as soon as it was clear daylight, we priests rose first and read our office on the bank of the

holy river. When we had read the service for matins and prime, we clergy went down as far as the holy water, and the precentor began to sing in a loud voice the hymn, *Lavacra puri gurgitis coelestis agnus attigit*, etc. After this we sang, *Christum hodie in Jordane baptizatum*, etc., but we did not sing the word *hodie*, but in place thereof, *hoc loco in Jordane baptizato Domino*, etc., for it is believed that in this place the Lord was baptized by John. At the sound of our singing the pilgrims, who were sleeping among the reeds, were aroused and came running to us: the Saracens also were aroused, and stood on the higher ground looking down upon us. After we had sung the hymns appointed in the processional, we fell down on the earth, kissed the moist and sacred ground, and received plenary indulgences (††). We remained some time in prayer, because it was Sunday, and we were not going to hear any Mass, and this not through our negligence, but through its impossibility, which also excuses us from the sin of transgression.

THE BATHING OF THE PILGRIMS IN JORDAN, AND THE THREE THINGS WHICH WERE FORBIDDEN TO THEM.

When we had finished our prayers we took off our clothes, that we might bathe in the sacred river. When our guides saw this they permitted us to wash ourselves therein, but forbade us to do three things: (1) No one was to swim across to the other bank. (2) No one was to dive beneath the water. (3) No one was to take any of the water in a bottle to carry it home with him over the sea to his own country. The reason of the first of these prohibitions was that generally those who swim across, or, at any rate, one of them, gets into danger of his life, and it never comes to pass that all those who swim across come back again without some disturbance. The reason of the second is that

the bottom of the Jordan is clayey, and one who dives into it may stick there and perish. The reason of the third prohibition is that the sailing of those ships on board of which Jordan water is carried is always unlucky, as sailors have often found by experience. The truth of what I have said will appear hereafter. [196 *a*] So when we were stripped we went into the holy river, and in the name of God immersed ourselves in its waves. Some knights did not lay aside any of their garments, but plunged into the water in the same garb wherein they rode upon their asses, saying that they would always be lucky in those clothes hereafter. Wherefore, when they reach home, they keep those clothes like treasures, and put them on when going forth to battle, believing that no harm will there befall them. Some had bought sheets of linen or of wool, which they dipped in that water, to the end that they might take them home and cause clothes to be made therefrom at their pleasure, thinking that when they wore them Fortune would smile more kindly upon them than at other times. Some had bought little bells at Venice, which they had brought to the Jordan with them, and baptized them in the river in the name of the Trinity, which bells they afterwards took home with them to their own country. They say that in time of tempests, lightning and thunder, if bells baptized in the Jordan be rung, neither lightning nor hail can do any hurt throughout the whole space through which their sound can be heard. Howbeit, what amount of truth these tales about bells and clothes baptized in the Jordan contain, and whether the vulgar opinion, which affirms the truth of these aforesaid tales, be true or superstitious, a sensible man must decide for himself.

So we stood in the water with great delight, and jestingly baptized one another. Though it was still early in the morning, the water was not cold, but lukewarm, and fit for

bathing in. We also drank some of it, fasting as we were, out of devotion ; albeit, it was not very pleasant to drink, being warm, and as muddy as a swamp.

Now, the pilgrims disobeyed the first of the prohibitions of the Saracens, and many of them swam across to the other bank of the river. During my first pilgrimage I also swam across, but in my second I stayed behind and sat down on sand in the water up to my neck, wearing my shirt and scapular ; for on my second pilgrimage I would not swim across, because on my first I had been horribly frightened when on the other bank of the river by so doing, for we swam across with many other knights, and were sporting merrily in the water on the other side, when lo ! of a sudden there were loud shouts and a great and terrible disturbance began, and they who were on the other bank uttered piteous cries. Moreover, the Saracens, both our guides and others, ran along the top of the bank and shouted to us with horrible angry cries, cursing and threatening us. At this we stood astounded, and by reason of the number of people shouting we could not make out what had happened, until a pilgrim swam over to us from the other bank, and when he was near us shouted : ‘ Ho ! one of our brethren the pilgrims has sunk in the midst of the waters, and cannot be seen.’ Straightway, when we heard this, we swam to the place where he had sunk, and, swimming round about it, waited for him to appear. At last, after a pretty long while he was seen, and we forthwith dragged him up by his hair and brought him to the further bank to which we had swum across, because that was the nearer of the two. He was like one dead—heavy, and unable to [*b*] speak to us, until he had vomited up the water which he had swallowed. When he had brought it up we reproached him, asking him how he could be so foolish as to have gone into the water

without understanding the art of swimming. He answered : ' From my youth up I have always known this art, seeing that I was brought up at the waterside ; but when I was come to the middle of the Jordan something beneath the water touched me, and I was so much frightened by its touch that I lost all the strength of my limbs, and could not help myself either with my legs or my arms.' While he was saying this he trembled so that he could not stand. Now, the Saracens were standing on the other bank, and crying out to us to make an end of this, and swim back again ; so we encouraged that pilgrim, and went into the water with him, but after he had swum a little way he again began to sink, and we held him by the hair, and had some trouble to drag him out, the Saracens, meanwhile, standing over against us very impatiently and shouting to us. Howbeit, two strong pilgrims, who well knew how to swim, took him between them, in such sort that he held one of them with one arm, and one with the other, hanging on their necks, that they might so swim across with him, and bring him back. But when they began to swim all three sunk, and those two pilgrims when under water could hardly tear themselves away from his grasp ; howbeit, they did so tear themselves away, and came up, but he remained for a long while under water, and then came up again, and as before we dragged him to the bank almost dead, and having lost all his strength. Hereupon our guides ordered us all to swim across to where our clothes were, and let that pilgrim stay where he was, and they would see after him. So all the pilgrims swam across. Now, when I would have swum across, fear came upon me, because of the danger which I had seen ; I began to tremble, and mused thus : ' Lo ! out of levity I have swum across, and am separated from the habit of my order, and have come hither contrary to the orders of my masters our guides.

Should I be drawn under, I shall sink from the depths of this water into the pit of hell, because of my dissolute levity and my irreligious nakedness, by reason whereof I have perchance incurred excommunication and have disobeyed my orders. Oh, how well it is with those pilgrims who are on the other bank, and how safely do they stand ! O Lord God, I prithee let not the storm of water bear me down, nor the deep swallow me up, neither let the pit open his mouth over me.' Having said this, I fortified myself with the sign of the cross, and leaped exceeding lustily into the water, forced myself along with my feet and hands over the middle of the river, and reached the other bank without hindrance. Straightway, after I had put on the scapular of my order, I made a special vow that never again while I lived among men would I go away to such a distance from the habit of my order, for being so far away from it was very grievous to me, and it seemed to me unbearable that I should sink in the water without my dress, but with my dress I should not have minded it so much. If I had considered and thought about the act before swimming across, I would not have swum across for anything in the world. I know well that doctors, both of law and of divinity, affirm that a religious person is bound to wear the habit of his order, whether he be resting in his bed or whatever he may be, unless there be so pressing need or serious illness which will not suffer him to wear it, otherwise he commits a mortal sin. Moreover, if a religious person heedlessly appears without his habit in the sight of laymen, by [197 *a*] that very act he incurs excommunication, and into this great peril I fell through heedlessness. Now, by this time the aforesaid pilgrim was standing alone, naked, full of fear, disturbed, and with a pale face ; but a Saracen, mounted on a strong horse, rode a long way up to a ford of the Jordan, and brought

him to us. The pilgrim gave him much gold for the price of his life. This pilgrim, before this mischance befell him, was a handsome man—lusty, overbearing, and quarrelsome, and was disliked by many of his fellows ; but after he was brought back to us he was an entirely altered man—pale-faced, timorous, humble, and slavish ; he ever after remained sorrowful and, as it were, cast down. I do not think that he lived many years.

I will relate another mischance, at which, indeed, I was not present, but heard of it from one who is worthy of belief. In the year between my first pilgrimage and my second many German nobles set sail for the Holy Land ; now, one of the greater men among them brought with him his cook, who, though he knew it not, had a presentiment of his danger, for throughout all the journey he was wont to say that he had no fear of anything in that pilgrimage, save only the Jordan. When he came to the Jordan he would not swim across it with the rest ; howbeit, he stripped, and went into the water to cool and wash himself ; but when the water was hardly up to his navel he began to sink, was drawn under water, and never was seen again. Also in this my second pilgrimage which I am now describing many swam across and heeded not the orders of the Saracens, who forbid it, and predict that some danger will come of it, and shout reproaches at those who swim across. Among these was a priest, who swam across even as I had done, and when on the further bank lost all his bodily strength, and was no more able to swim, neither did he know how, but stood shaking with fear, and was brought back by his comrades with great difficulty, a weakly and broken man, whereas he had before this been exceeding lusty and strong. He was a great friend of mine, and I often asked him what it was that happened to him, to which he answered that he of a sudden lost his

strength. I have inquired of pilgrims who have been to the Jordan before me and after me, and have found that some trouble always befell somebody.

From what hath been said the question arises, How comes it to pass that danger and trouble so often occur in this bathing, seeing that the river is not wide, and has not a rapid current, but a fairly slow one? To this some answer that certain treacherous beasts lurk in that water, which, when they see the movement of a man swimming, come up from the bottom and try to seize him as he swims. Others say that because the bathing-place is near the mouths by which the Jordan empties itself into the Dead Sea ; therefore, there takes place there a certain mixture of the water of the Dead Sea with those of the river, and that, owing to the venom of these waters, men who swim across lose their strength. Others say that nothing lives in the Dead Sea, save certain unnatural and hellish beasts, who swim up from the Dead Sea to bring men to their death. Others say that the peril arises from strong imagination, for the pilgrims hear stories about these dangers, and [b] every one of them trembles at them and is on his guard, lest some evil should befall him, and in this state of terror they all swim across, and some of them out of the strength of their imagination believe themselves to be touched or drawn under. Other men say, perchance with more reason, that because swimming across is a sign of wantonness and dissoluteness, which ought not to be shown in so holy a place, God suffers trouble to come upon one man, to the end that thereby the others may be rendered serious, quiet, and disciplined. For the place, by reason of the marvellous things that have been wrought there, is a place for seriousness, not for rejoicing ; for weeping, not for laughing ; for prayer, not for shouting ; for kneeling, not for struggling ; for repentance, not for

wantonness. But the pilgrims take all this in the contrary part, and in so terrible a place as this relax the bonds of due gravity, wherefore some of them are punished for an example to the rest. But nothing is wont to befall those who gravely and devoutly baptize themselves, as we see in the case of women pilgrims, who bathed among the reeds above us with modesty, silence, and devotion, and far more sedately than we. I could have wished, in the case of these old women, that the common report might prove true; for the people say that whosoever bathes in Jordan does not grow any older, but that the longer he remains in the water the younger he grows; for instance, if he bathes for one hour, he grows younger by one hour; if for two, he grows younger by two; if three, by three; and if for a year, he grows younger by a year. But our women comrades would have needed a bath of sixty years to restore their youth, for they were women of eighty years of age and upwards. If they who bathe in Jordan did not grow old it would be an evil bath, for the Lord saith by the mouth of the prophet Isaiah (lxv. 20): ‘The child shall die an hundred years old, and shall be accursed.’ This bath would be above all things desirable if it would take away ill-health, deformity, and old age from the body, and would bring age to the mind.

Moreover, many laymen are so silly or so simple as to believe that if they are baptized in Jordan they will never thereafter grow old; and this is why they make such efforts to get to the Jordan and baptize one another there, being those who dive into the deep water contrary to the orders of the Saracens.

Now, when we had finished our bathing, some of the pilgrims took water from the Jordan in jars, flasks, and glass bottles, contrary to the third commandment of the Saracens, who forbade this at the instance of the captains,

for the pilots of ships will not suffer this water on board, because they firmly believe that ships on board of which is water from the Jordan are unlucky, and do not make quick voyages, but are in danger as long as the smallest drop of Jordan water remains on board. This I have often seen, that when there is danger at sea, from contrary winds or want of wind, [198*a*] the pilots run about the galley, rummage through all the pilgrims' chests and lockers, and search every nook and corner looking for Jordan water, to which they ascribe all their misfortune; and if they do not find it at one search they search again, and as long as the difficulty in sailing continues, they pry about exceeding sharply, and threaten that whosoever is found with any of this water belonging to him, they will throw him and all his baggage into the sea.

In my first pilgrimage we endured much, and were often insolently searched by the sailors looking for this water. It may well be debated, therefore, what truth there is in this idea, namely, that the water of the Jordan, put into a bottle and brought on board a sea-going ship, has any power to hinder its sailing and to make the sea rough, or to restrain fair winds from blowing, or to alter the condition of the air or the sea in any way whatever, as the masters of ships declare that it does. Here it should be noted that I have heard from a truthful and learned man that he saw at Rome a Bull of the Pope with a leaden seal, wherein it was forbidden, on pain of the curse of the Pope, that anyone should bring water from the Jordan into parts beyond sea. They say, too, that the Lords of Venice have orders not to bring anyone back from over sea with the aforesaid water, and that they often come and search the ships and pour away the water which they find in them. He, therefore, who says that the sailing of the ships is hindered through the censure of the Pope, declares that it

is not the water, but the censure of the Pope, which hinders it. Now, if the censures of the Pope hinder the sailing of ships, it must be done by a miracle, and by reason of the presence of excommunicated persons, and not because of the water, just as we read about excommunicated persons being subject to many miseries; for example, that the corpses of such persons are not buried within the precincts of the church, but are cast out by night and left to be devoured by wild beasts. So, also, the prophet Jonah was disobedient: a fierce storm arose, and when he was cast out of the ship the storm ceased, as we read in the first chapter of the Book of Jonah. This, however, does not happen to all excommunicated persons, but only to those upon whom God wishes to show a miracle. That it does not happen to all is clear from the case of those pilgrims who embark without a license from the Pope, and reach Jerusalem in peace, albeit they are in a state of excommunication. From this there arises a new question, namely, wherefore the Pope should forbid the bringing over of Jordan water. The answer seems to be, that he hath done this in order to do away with the superstitions to which the use of that water gave rise: for some simple-minded priests did not believe themselves to be possessed of the true power of baptism unless they mixed the water with some water from the Jordan, or else they thought that baptism with that water was *more* holy and efficacious than without it. Superstitious women likewise would not have their children baptized unless the water had some of the water from the Jordan mixed with it, and even if they believed that other water would suffice, nevertheless they esteemed that wherewith some of the water of the Jordan was mixed to be more holy. All these opinions are mistaken.

Moreover, warlocks and witches used to make especial

use of this water, and use it at the present when they can come by it, in their superstitious practices, for the abolition of which the Pope forbade it to be brought over. [b] But if, therefore, the sailing of ships is hindered, then God hath wrought a new miracle. Others say that water from the Jordan, albeit when running it be living water, nevertheless when enclosed in a bottle dies and becomes putrid, and whereas the sea cannot endure that which is dead and putrid, as they say, therefore ships are hindered in their sailing. But this is nought, for I have seen great jars in which the water had become putrid, which were carried for great distances over the sea, that there might be some fresh water in the ship, although it were stinking. I have likewise seen the corpse of a man lately dead carried on ship-board from the Cyclades Isles as far as Venice, as will be described on page 165, Part II.

Others assign another reason, and say that the Dead Sea is imbued with marvellous qualities, and that, seeing that its water mingles with those of the Jordan in this place, therefore the Great Sea cannot endure them because of the enmity which the two seas have for one another. But I do not believe this, either, because we drank of the water of the Jordan, and perceived no bitterness therein, whereas the water of the Dead Sea is exceeding bitter, wherefore it is called in Scripture 'the saltiest sea.' There is, therefore, in that place no mixture between the two waters. Others better and more truly say that it is superstitious to believe that the water of the Jordan has power to hinder sailing, or to change the winds or interfere with the motion of the air and the sea ; nevertheless, because of the unfaithfulness of Christian men it is suffered by God to do so ; and were there not water from Jordan on board the ship, that would not come to pass, not, indeed, because of the water itself, but because of want of faith : even as

we see. that through bad faith some things work cures of certain diseases, which things have no reason for curing those diseases, nor are they adapted by art so to do ; for example, if my horse falls lame in his right foot, I straight-way bandage up the right foot of my cow, who is not lame, and my horse is cured, not because of the cow's bandage, but because of my bad faith in believing this. So it is in the question before us. As soon as the pilot of a ship believes that a few drops of the water of the Jordan can alter the whole air and water of the Great Sea, and change the winds, then to punish him for his sin God suffers his sailing to be hindered, to increase his bad faith. That this belief is superstitious is evident also from the fact that many people are to be found who have brought this water over, albeit they did wrong therein, since it was forbidden by the Pope. Let it suffice that I have wandered away from our bathing in Jordan as far as the Great Sea. So when the Saracens called us we came out of the holy Jordan, put on our clothes, came up out of the river-bed, and stood viewing the place. We then sat down among the shrubs, and ate our bread and the other things which we had brought with us from Jerusalem, taking no heed of the Saracens, who were on foot, and kept calling us to leave the place.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE JORDAN ; AND, FIRST, OF
ITS SOURCE.

I shall divide what I am about to say touching the river Jordan into three parts ; to wit : (1) its source ; (2) its quality ; (3) its commendation.

In describing the Jordan I must needs make mention of places which I have not seen with my eyes, because our pilgrimage did indeed reach as far as the Jordan, but not to its beginning. Now, as for the source of the Jordan,

it is commonly and truly reported that it rises beneath Mount Lebanon, from the confluence of two springs, Jor and Dan, from both of which it takes its name, and is called the Jordan. Some, however, have traced its source further back, and say that Euphrates, the river of Paradise [199*a*], sends forth a little rill through a secret underground channel, which gathers together its waters in a fountain named Phyla, which is deep and always full, but not overflowing. The Saracens call it Maydan; in Matt. xv. it is called Megedan, and in Mark viii. it is called Dalmanucka. This fountain, as I have said, does not overflow above, but it passes through the country of Trachonitis by a secret underground channel, and makes the spring running out of the foot of Mount Lebanon, which is called Dan. That Dan's source is the fountain Megedan they prove by the fact of the chaff which they throw into the fountain Megedan flowing out of the fountain Dan; and these two fountains are six thousand stadia distant one from the other. They say that the spring Jor from the beginning received its waters through an underground passage from the other river of Paradise, which is called the Tigris. These two springs, Jor and Dan, flow out of the foot of Mount Lebanon at a distance from one another, flow together into one river before the gate of the city which by its ancient name was called Lachis, and these become one Jordan. We read of this city Lachis in John x., and in Judg. xviii. we are told that the children of Dan found it a rich and peaceful city, and took it and burned it, after which they rebuilt it and gave it the name of Dan, their father. It was the last city in the Holy Land towards the north. In this place was set up the idol of Micah, whereof we read throughout the eighteenth chapter of the Book of Judges. Moreover, Jeroboam, King of Israel, set up therein one of his golden calves, and

bade the people worship it, as we find in 1 Kings xii. 32. After a long period of time Philip, the Tetrarch of Ituraca and Trachonitis, named it Caesarea, out of respect for Caesar; wherefore in Matt. xvi. it is called Caesarea Philippi. The Greeks afterwards named it Paneas. But at the present day it is called neither Lachis, nor Dan, nor Caesarea, nor Paneas, but Belinas.

So, then, Jor and Dan meet before the gate of this city, and by their meeting form the river Jordan, which, flowing away from thence in a long and crooked circuit, divides the country of Ituraca from that of Trachonitis, and afterwards falls into a valley wherein its waters are gathered into a pool, which pool is called 'the waters of Merom,' whereof we read in Josh. xi. This pool waxes great in winter time, but in summer the water dries up, and bushes and thick shrubs grow there, among which lions and other wild beasts make their lairs.

At last it runs along between the two cities of Capernaum and Chorazin, and there forms a great lake, which is the Sea of Galilee or the Sea of Tiberias, even as the Rhine forms the Lake of Constance. It flows out of the lower end of this sea, and passes between the mountains of Israel and the mountains of Arabia the Less; it reaches the plain of Jericho, and there runs into the jaws of the Dead Sea and is swallowed up thereby. Now, from the place where it starts from the Sea of Galilee to the place where it enters the Dead Sea is twelve days' journey. The Dead Sea is five days' journey in length, and this sea is connected with the waters which in Exod. xv. are called 'the waters of Marah,' and the waters of Marah are connected with the Red Sea. Now, the Red Sea joins the Indian Sea, which flows out of Ocean. And this is the course of the Jordan, a very long one, from his source to his end.

THE QUALITIES OF THE JORDAN.

Let us now see what sort of river the Jordan is. This holy river is not very broad, for it is scarce sixty paces in width ; but albeit small in breadth, it is very deep ; yet especially in the place where we bathed it has a sandy bottom and clayey banks ; it waxes and wanes according to the season of the year, and is especially swollen in the time of wheat harvest ; that is, in spring time, because corn is wont to ripen at that time in the country of Palestine, as we read in Josh. iii. Indeed, it so overflows that it runs beyond its bed over the fields, because many rivers and streams run into it, as, for instance, the river Jaboth, beyond which Jacob wrestled with the angel. It has, then, a fairly deep bed and lofty banks. Its waters are sweet and fit for drinking, more especially in the cold season, in winter, for in summer they are too warm ; its water is muddy, but I know not whether it be always so, and it abounds with good and sweet fish. It has not a swift course, but flows along silently ; nevertheless, one swimming across it feels the current of the water moving against him in mid-stream.

From its source there at Caesarea Philippi to the end of the Dead Sea, for almost a hundred miles, it has on either side of it wide plains, which end in high mountains. Beside the Jordan are wildernesses, whereof we also read in Isa. xii., wherein in former times were many monasteries and dwellings of religious persons, whose ruins may be seen at this day. In the wildernesses and plains of the Jordan roam many wild beasts, and at eventide they come down to the water to drink like flocks of sheep, but during the heat of the day they lie in caves in the rocks. There are lions, bears, foxes, roebucks, deer, hares, wild asses, and the like, who walk about there like

domestic animals and do not flee from men, except when they try to get too near them. Some years ago a huge lion used to dwell there, who injured neither men nor beasts, but would watch a man as he passed by, and show his tameness by the motion of his tail; howbeit a certain Christian who had a bow with him shot an arrow at the lion; the lion ran up to the arrow, and smelt it; he shot a second arrow at him, and as it flew the lion raised himself up as though about to snatch at it; hereafter he was never seen in his wonted spot, but used to roam through the plains and woodlands of Jordan, going about roaring, seeking whom he might devour, and he wrought much evil thenceforth both to men and beasts.

THE DIGNITY AND PRAISE OF THE HOLY JORDAN.

The dignity of the holy Jordan is inestimable, for it divides the land of the faithful from the land of unbelievers, because beyond Jordan were the Ammonites, the Moabites, Edom, and the Arabians; while on this side dwelt the children of Israel. It made a way for the children of Israel, and wondrously piled itself up, as we read in Josh. iii. It healed Naaman the leper, the chief of the host of the Assyrians, as we read in 2 Kings v. 14. It obeyed the commandment of Elijah and Elisha, and made a way for them through the midst of it (2 Kings ii. 8). The iron of an axe miraculously swam on the top of its water (2 Kings vi. 6). [200a] The most holy John the Baptist baptized the people in this river, as we read in Luke ii., John i., Mark i. But what is more notable than all these is that Jesus Christ, the Son of God, was pleased to be baptized in this river, that by the touch of His most pure flesh He might confer regenerative power upon the waters thereof, wherefore this water is the mother of all who are made regenerate in Christ. Wherefore Bernard saith: 'The Jordan receives with joy into its bosom Christians

who boast that they are hallowed by the baptism of Christ.' And the same saith : ' What river is more notable than this, which the Holy Trinity itself hath consecrated to itself by its visible presence?—the Father being heard, the Holy Ghost seen, and the Son baptized, as we read in Matt. iii., John i., Luke iii.' ' From all this we clearly understand,' saith Bernhard, ' that that leprous Syrian lied who preferred I know not what waters of Damascus to the waters of Israel, when there was our Jordan, which so often hath been proved to have devoutly served God.'

But here arises the question, seeing that the Jordan is thus holy and dignified, wherefore its blessed, pure, holy, sweet, and wholesome water should flow into water which is accursed, unclean, devilish, exceeding salt and poisonous, to wit, into the Dead Sea, into the Lake of Sodom? In answer to this some say that the Jordan doth indeed flow towards the Dead Sea, but that when it reaches its shore it pierces the earth and enters therein, before reaching the sea. But this is not true, because it can be seen running into the sea a long way, distinct from the water of the sea, which is thick and black-looking, whereas the water of the Jordan is white and clear. Others say that this happens in order that the accursedness of the one may be tempered by the blessedness of the other. Others take a loftier view of it, and say that herein lies hid a great mystery; for that albeit the Jordan be holy, yet, since it doth not exalt itself, but runneth down towards the Dead Sea, its holiness availeth not to save it from falling into the Dead Sea and sharing its curses, even so man, albeit sanctified by Christ's baptism, yet if he doth not raise himself up, but pursueth the downward course of fleshly frailty, notwithstanding his holiness he falleth into damnation and is made partaker of its curses, like as do other men who have not been baptized; for as other rivers and streams which are not

blessed fall into the Dead Sea and share its cursedness, even so he who is a sinner albeit baptized, and he who hath not been sanctified, are alike ; and so forth.

In the place where we bathed the children of Israel are believed to have passed over dryshod, and Elijah, Elisha, and Christ were baptized there ; wherefore I have read in an exceeding ancient pilgrim's book that in that part of the Jordan where the Lord was baptized there used to stand a tall cross, beside which the pilgrims used to strip themselves, and go into the water ; while on the bank, at the place where the Lord laid His clothes, was built a great church, with a vaulted roof, supported by nine marble columns. All these have long ago been swept away, and swallowed up by the floods of the Jordan, so that at the present day no trace of them is to be seen. St. Bernhard speaks in commendation of the Jordan in the ninth chapter of his sermon to the Knights Templars.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM THE JORDAN
IN THE DIRECTION OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL. THE
WILDERNESS OF JORDAN, AND THE DESERT OF ST.
JOHN THE BAPTIST.

After we had done our bathing, we presently remounted our asses, and departed from the holy river by the road along which we had come. Those pilgrims who did not mean to visit Mount Sinai turned back with great joy, because they had at last reached the end of their pilgrimage, for Jordan is the end of the pilgrimage of Jerusalem. So we went hurriedly up through the wilderness of Jordan into the desert of John the Baptist, who began to dwell in these solitary places beside the Jordan as soon as the Word of the Lord came upon him in the wilderness near his father's house ; wherefore we are told in Luke iii. that he came into all the country about Jordan preaching and

baptizing. He likewise dwelt for a time in Bethania (Bethabara), beyond Jordan, as we read in John i., and he passed throughout the whole country of Jordan from place to place that he might preach. It was in this wilderness, through which we were going up, that the Lord Jesus once came to him, asking for baptism. Above the banks of the Jordan there are rough wildernesses, wherein dwelt John the Baptist, and after him many holy fathers, who, after the example of the Baptist, were girded with leather girdles, and ate locusts and wild honey, as we read in Matt. iii. and John. But let us see what these locusts and wild honey were. Some say that locusts are tiny animals, which fly in a jumping fashion, and have saws in their legs, wherefore they are also called *serratae*; they have a thin and short body, like one of the fingers of a man's hand, and are easily caught in the grass. After their heads are pulled off, they are fried in oil and eaten, and are the food of poor men; and so at this day these locusts are found in the desert of Judaea. On these they say St. John the Baptist fed. Others, who take a loftier view of St. John the Baptist, say: 'It is not likely that the most blessed John the Baptist should have eaten the flesh of locusts in the desert, when he even refused to eat bread in his former house'; and these say that there is a certain herb which grows in that wilderness, which is called *longusta*, which word the vulgar Latins have corrupted into *locusta*. Poor men gather this herb, and eat thereof, and it was the food of St. John; wherefore the monks of old, who dwelt beside the Jordan, used it daily in their refectory. Wild honey, some say, is that which is found in the trunks of trees, having been carried thither by bees. Others say that there are certain reeds wherein a sweet juice grows, which reeds we call sugar-canes. These grow near the Jordan, and from them is pressed out not honey, but a

more precious liquor—sugar ; and they say that John fed upon these sugar-canes. But others, musing upon the words of the Lord (Matt. xi. 18), who said, ‘ John came neither eating nor drinking,’ say that doctors declare as touching this passage that he is said neither to eat nor to drink who doth not use the common food and drink of mankind, who eats and drinks exceeding sparingly of what he doth eat and drink, and who dwelleth in the wilderness. Now, the honey aforesaid, whether it cometh from hollow trees, or be pressed forth out of reeds and canes, doth not come among the food of common men, but of nobles [201 *a*] and delicately nurtured epicures ; moreover, other food is flavoured with honey and sugar to make it delicate and savoury ; wherefore it is not right to say that St. John ate such food, for if in his father’s house he would not eat cooked food, fruits, or vegetables, how could he have eaten sugar, honey, and honeycomb in the wilderness ? They say, therefore, that there are certain roots of herbs which are called wild honey. Others say that wild honey is the leaves of certain shrubs, which are white, tender, and round, and which, when rubbed together in the hands, have somewhat of the taste of honey. Others say that pods grow there on certain bushes, wherein are grains of seed like beans, whereof St. John is said to have eaten. The whole plain was covered with these when I was in this wilderness but the beans in these pods were hard, like stones, and I could not split any of them with my teeth. Others say that there are trees in this wilderness whose fruit are called carobs, as has been said before, page 66 *b*, which are oblong black pods, and when taken out of the pod are good to eat. This fruit is everywhere called St. John’s bread, and they that deal in spices sell them in their shops. In the East they are thought to be worth nothing, and poor men gather them, tear off the skin with their teeth,

and dress and eat the sweet juice with the substance between it. I have often eaten these for pastime, but could never satiate myself with them. It is possible that St. John also sucked the juice of these beans.

We went through this wilderness of St. John in haste, and when we had gone about one mile, lo! there arose crying and shrieking among our comrades the women pilgrims, and all the host was thrown into confusion, for they had been wont to go very quietly, devoutly, and silently, with much long-suffering, and a disturbance among them astounded everyone. So we all ran hastily to them as they wept, asking the cause of their lamentation. They answered that one of their companions had been sought for throughout the host, and could not be found, and that they were lamenting over her loss. They begged us to halt, and not to follow after the Saracens, who had gone on before very hastily, until their companion should be found. So we remained with those ladies, and would not go forward—albeit the Saracens called upon us to proceed with many shouts and menaces. But when they saw that we would not follow them, they came back to us, and after hearing manifold complaints, they straightway sent off some of their number, mounted on exceeding swift horses, and together with them some of the strongest of the pilgrims, to seek for the old woman. These men went swiftly down to Jordan by the road through the wilderness, for we feared that she might perhaps have been drowned in the water of the Jordan, or be lying fainting for want of food in the wilderness, or perhaps be stuck fast in the mud by the river-side, and unable to get out, or perchance seized, robbed, and outraged by some Saracen, and the bowels of the pilgrims yearned for their sister—albeit, some rough and hard-hearted knights grumbled at the whole host being thrown into confusion for the sake of one old

woman, and, had their advice been followed, we should have quite given the old woman up for lost. Herein they were more cruel than the Saracens, who, in their anxiety at the loss of the woman, feared that she might have been carried off by some Arab or Midianite shepherd, or devoured by some lion or other wild beast, and they patiently waited with us in the exceeding great heat of the sun. But the leader of those murmurs, who thought so little of the loss of the old woman, and who perhaps wished for it, afterwards fell into the hands of the old women (when sick), and with tears begged for help from those whom he had scorned before. About this see pages 12 *b*, 16 *a*, 55 *b*, and 211. Indeed, he was brought down to a more pitiful state than the most wretched beggars. So those who had been sent to seek the devout matron our comrade roamed shouting along the road through the wilderness, and went down even to the bank of the Jordan, to the place where the woman had bathed, and there they found her lying asleep in a bed of reeds. They awakened her, took her up, placed her upon a horse, and came up to us with glad cries, as though they had taken a wild beast.

HOW THE PILGRIMS CAME INTO ST. JOHN'S CHURCH.

So the matron was received with joy, and good men congratulated her, like the lost sheep in Luke xv., and we went on our way, and came out of the bushes and thorns into a bare land, whereon grew neither grass nor trees, and which was made uneven by sandy hills and swellings of the ground. As we went on we came to a pretty large church, which is the Church of St. John the Baptist, and there we dismounted from our asses, entered the church, bowed ourselves to the earth in prayer, went through the service appointed in the pilgrims' processional, and received plenary indulgences († †). We sat here for a

while in the shade and rested ourselves. I related to the pilgrims the annoyance which we underwent in my first pilgrimage at this spot, which I have been at pains to insert here also. For, when we had come up out of the wilderness, but before we came to the church, our guides pushed us off our asses, forced us to lead them by our hands, and forbade anyone to go up to the church which stands above the road, but ordered us to pass by the church hurriedly and in silence. This passing by was grievous to us, because we were unwilling to miss seeing the church, and unwilling to lose the indulgences; moreover, the way was sandy, and at every step we sank into deep sand almost up to our knees; the day, too, was exceeding warm, and the heat of the sun most glowing, and we were terribly tormented and sickened by that grievous journey past the church. The reason of it was this: [202 a] A certain accursed Arab, a fierce son of Belial, had taken that church and made it into his house, and there he lived as a robber, sallying forth from thence and plundering passers-by; and he had declared an especial hatred towards all Christians. Now, it is the custom in the East, if two men meet in the field, and one fears the other, that he who is without hope of victory dismounts from his beast, and walks on foot to meet the other, in sign of respect, in order that he may in this fashion show him reverence. So likewise when one host wishes to show respect to another, all the men dismount from their beasts. So, too, when any king or prince, or Saracen or Mameluke nobles ride along the road, all those who meet them leap off their asses and stand until they have passed by. If they do not dismount from their beasts on the aforesaid occasions, the others thrust them off by force, with much insult and annoyance. Now, our guides feared this Arab, lest perchance he and his fellows might be lying in wait in that church, and might burst

forth from thence and fall upon us, especially if we had passed by his house without showing respect : wherefore they bade us dismount from our asses and pass by that house in humble guise, which we did, albeit the knights were exceeding impatient at it, and cursed the dog with the most frightful imprecations. Howbeit we so passed by that we saw no one in the place, and this was in our favour, because both we and our guides greatly feared that Arab, lest perchance he might follow after us.

THE AFORESAID CHURCH OF ST. JOHN, AND THE
HOLINESS OF THE PLACE.

The aforesaid Church of St. John is fairly large, but has now been desecrated by the dwelling therein of Arabs, who live the life of robbers therein and inhabit it as a fortress. Its altars are destroyed, and it has in some sort lost the form of a church. They say that on this spot St. John the Baptist preached to the people, and gave to all rules by which they should live, as we read in Luke iii. ; and here also he bore witness to the Lord Jesus, as we read in Matt. i. Moreover, John was standing in this place when the Lord Jesus came to him, and he seeing Him, pointed to Him with his finger, saying, 'Behold the Lamb of God, who taketh away the sins of the world !' (John i.). Some say that it was from this place that Elijah was taken up into heaven in a chariot of fire ; but this doth not well agree with 2 Kings ii., for Elijah was taken up beyond Jordan. A monastery once adjoined this church, wherein St. Zozima was abbot over many monks, and near the monastery was a hospice for pilgrims, wherein St. Mary of Egypt passed her first night, when she came down from Jerusalem to go into the wilderness beyond Jordan. St. Mary of Egypt came into this church out of the wilderness on the Friday after Epiphany, and

received therein the Sacrament of the Eucharist from St. Zozima, and both [*b*] in coming from the wilderness and in returning thither she passed over Jordan dryshod. In the days of old a great feast was held at this church on the day of Epiphany, while still the golden age endured; for the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Bethlehem, with the abbots, monks, clergy, and people, used to come down hither, and after celebrating divine service all used to go down together, with banners and crosses, to the Jordan, and there sing psalms beside the holy river. The abbot of the monastery of St. John used to dip the cross which he carried into the water; upon the dipping whereof all infirm persons who were present used to cast themselves into the water and were healed; while they who were whole baptized themselves devoutly, and were rendered stronger. These miracles are believed to have been wrought there not because of the holiness of the river, but because of the due observance of religion, both among the Christian commonalty as among monks and religious persons. When the service was over they each went home to their own place. Next to this wilderness comes the vast desert of St. Jerome, beyond that is the Dead Sea, and above the Dead Sea are the mountains of Engaddi, all of which places will be described on the fourth day of August, page 242.

THE HOLY PLACE OF GILGAL AND ITS DIGNITY.

So, after we had well cooled ourselves in St. John's Church, we again mounted our asses, went humbly onwards, and came to a high place among the sand-hills, where the king's highway ran between two little hills. One said to me that of these two hillocks the one was Garizim, and the other Hebal, the mounts of blessing and cursing, whereof we read in Deut. xxvii., but it is not so. Where those two mounts are will be shown on page 205 *b*. On our way we

came to the plain country of Jericho, which is burned up by the heat of the sun, to the place Gilgal, whereof mention is many times made in Holy Scripture. In this place the children of Israel marked out their camp after they had crossed over Jordan, and here they had their first dwelling on the soil of the Holy Land; here they were circumcised for the second time; here they kept the Passover; and here they began to eat of the fruits of the Holy Land, neither did manna come down from heaven upon them after they had eaten of the fruits of the Holy Land, as we read in Josh. iv. and v. Now I conceive that at the time when Joshua came to Gilgal with the children of Israel there was no building here, neither village nor city, but the host lay upon the bare ground in the plains of Jericho. But after the children of Israel had set up their tents there, they made some sort of building for the tabernacle of the Lord and the ark of the covenant, which remained there for a long time, and for the twelve stones, which Joshua bade the children of Israel take out of Jordan, when they passed through the midst of its bed dryshod, which stones he also set up in Gilgal, as we read in Josh. iv.

I have read in a very ancient pilgrim's book¹ that at Gilgal, in the place where the ark of the Lord once stood, and where those twelve stones once lay, the Christians, in olden times, built a stately church, wherein the aforesaid stones were laid. They were unpolished, and so great that two men could not easily lift one of them from the ground.

¹ 'When Arculf was there, at the end of the seventh century, this place was shown at five miles from Jericho. A large church covered the site, in which the twelve stones were ranged. The church and stones were seen by Willibald, thirty years later, but he gives the distance as five miles from the Jordan, which again he states correctly as seven from Jericho. The stones are mentioned also by Thietmar, A.D. 1217, and lastly by Ludolf de Suchem a century later. No modern traveller has succeeded in eliciting the name, or in discovering a probable site.'—'Dict. of the Bible,' s. v. 'Gilgal.'

One of them was broken in two by some mischance, and was artificially joined together again with ironwork. We were not, however, able to see the ruins of this church, but yet we were exceeding glad to see the place, and, falling down, kissed the holy [203 a] ground, which indeed is holy, for that there Joshua was bidden to loose his shoes from off his feet. For when that strong and holy man Joshua was there in the field, he beheld a man standing before him with a drawn sword, to whom Joshua fearlessly went up and said: 'Art thou one of us, or an enemy?' He answered: 'Nay, but I am Michael, the captain of the host of the Lord, and now I am come to help you' (Josh. v.). This place hath been counted holy from of old, and because of its sanctity a school of prophets dwelt here, like a convent of monks, as we read in 2 Kings iv. This was the first place wherein devout men began to dwell together as religious persons do in convents, because of the holiness of the place, which the archangel Michael hath especially hallowed by his apparition there, even as he hath hallowed the Mount Garganus, as will be told on page 186, Part II., whither men run from distant parts of the world. Howbeit, the sanctification of this place by the angel is far more solemn, seeing that it is approved by the testimony of the canonical Scriptures, and that most truly and beyond all shadow of doubt the apparition of St. Michael did here take place. Men run on pilgrimage into the lands of the West, even to the British sea, to what is called St. Michael's Mount, to see forsooth some relics and arms, to speak as a child, of St. Michael, and say that upon this mount St. Michael laid down the arms wherewith he overcame the dragon and wherewith he defended Joshua in the country of Jericho. It is not only children who, in the year 1457, journeyed thither from all parts of Germany in exceeding great multitude, but even old men and men

of sense who were unable to read. On this matter I should like to tell you an experience of my own. Once upon a time I went out of Ulm with one companion, that I might preach in the town of Güntzburg, and on our way we fell in with a pilgrim who was going down the same road. I purposely joined this man, and asked him from what pilgrimage he was coming back, adding that I myself had been a pilgrim in foreign parts, and was therefore all the more inclined to the society of pilgrims. This pilgrim was a personable and respectable man, and eloquent withal—a Viennese—but he was an unlettered layman. He answered me: ‘I come,’ said he, ‘from distant lands, from the Ocean, from St. Michael’s Mount.’ I asked: ‘Pray, what did you seek there, and what did you see?’ He answered: ‘What I sought I found, and beheld with my eyes, for I saw in that place the shield and the sword of the glorious archangel Michael, wherewith he waged war in heaven with the dragon which is Satan, wherewith he drove Lucifer and all his fellows from heaven, wherewith he was armed when he appeared before Joshua, the son of Nun, in the field of Jericho.’ To this I answered: ‘O brother, these are mighty matters. Who was it who showed you these things?’ He answered: ‘Monks, dressed in albs, devout men, show these things to all men with much pomp, and gain fat profits thereby.’ I said: ‘Who placed these mighty relics in that spot?’ He answered: ‘St. Michael, after he had overcome the devil and had ceased to fight, came down by himself to this mount and made a storehouse there for his arms, and in the time of Antichrist he will come down thither a second time, and will take up those arms again, and with them [b] will overcome Antichrist and put his demons to flight.’ After this I questioned him about the size and fashion of those arms. He answered me in well-chosen language on every point,

and told me of many things which the monks of that place publicly preach, containing sufficiently erroneous doctrine. I was at great pains to explain to this man that in his victory over the dragon St. Michael had no need of a corporeal shield or sword, and that these things had been untruthfully invented by the avarice of those monks; and that the arms wherewith St. Michael fought he hath never laid down nor ever ceased to fight therewith. For as in heaven he waged war against the bad angels, even so in the Old Testament he was captain of the host of Israel, and fought for them, as is clear from Josh. v. Moreover, in the New Testament he ever fights on the side of the Christians, as is proved by Dan. x.; wherefore he doth not lay down his arms, seeing that they are not corporeal arms. When I had instructed that layman in these matters he gave me thanks.

Brother Michael Sicz, the cook of the convent at Ulm, often used to talk about these arms, because he had visited the place in the aforesaid year with the other children to see the arms. But these are childish fictions; whereas this apparition at Gilgal is a most true and holy fact: wherefore it is here that St. Michael should be sought for; since it is most certainly true that the holy angel here appeared to Joshua armed with an unsheathed sword. Not that he had an unreal sword, for neither was the body wherein he appeared his own by nature, but both the body and the arms were formed of air and unmeet for human uses, and after the apparition returned into their former state. Whosoever therefore would behold the places wherein angels have indeed been seen, let him make this pilgrimage, and he shall see these things, and greater things than these.

THE VALLEY OF THE THIEF ACHAN, WHEREIN HE WAS
STONED.

From Gilgal we went on our way towards Jericho, and came near to the Valley of Achan, wherein he and all his

household and all that he had were buried beneath a heap of stones, because of the theft which he had committed when Jericho was destroyed, as we read in Josh. vii. At this valley we wondered at the severity of the Divine justice, which punishes the whole nation for the transgression of one man, and visits the sin of one upon all, for the text saith (ch. vii.) that the children of Israel dissembled, yet no one of them had sinned, save only Achan, who had stolen a wedge of gold and a garment and some silver. This Achan is the type of a bad monk, who hath stolen the golden rule of St. Augustine, which rule is called golden because it is precious, splendid, and heavy, and is full of value. This is stolen by the sinner, who likewise unrighteously takes the habit, and abuses the alms which he receives by spending them on unnecessary luxuries. Moreover, when he perverts the talents which have been given to him to the pursuit of human praise, he is burying the silver in the earth. By his shortcomings also not he alone, but all his convent, is confounded.

Leaving this place, we came to the spot, not far from the city of Jericho, where the blind man sat by the wayside begging when the Lord went up from Galilee to Jerusalem, and there the Lord lightened his eyes, as we read in Luke xviii. On this spot we said the service appointed in the processional, and falling [204 α] down upon the earth, kissed the footprints of our Saviour and received indulgences (†). 1

THE HOUSE OF RAHAB THE HARLOT, THE HOUSE OF
ZACCHAEUS, AND THE TRIBULATION SUFFERED BY
THE PILGRIMS.

After this we came to the city of Jericho. Beside the gate of the city stands a vaulted house, exceeding ancient, which they say was once the house of Rahab the harlot,

whereof we read a noble story in Josh. ii., and likewise this harlot is given a place in the pedigree of the Lord Jesus in St. Matthew's Gospel (ch. i.). For Salmon, a prince of the tribe of Judah, married Rahab, and from her begat Booz; and thus was this woman raised from the condition of an ignoble harlot and given a place in the glorious Gospel. Now, albeit this city hath oft times been destroyed, natheless, wonderful to relate, the house of Rahab the harlot alone hath ever remained unharmed, and is shown at this day.

Going on further past the house of Rahab, we came to a great house in the midst of the town, whose walls are still thick and lofty, as though it had once been a castle. This is said to have been the house of Zacchaeus, which the Lord Jesus deigned to sanctify and hallow in a special manner when He said, 'This day is salvation come to this house.' Herein He ate and converted many sinners, together with Zacchaeus. We would willingly have entered, but were not suffered to do so; howbeit we halted beside the wall, and one of the pilgrims said that he wished Zacchaeus was still the master of that house, that he might provide for us, for we were hungry and thirsty, and the things which we had brought from Jerusalem with us in our srips were nearly all eaten. We had hoped that in Jericho we might find bread and water for our refreshment, for with these we should have been amply content; but another sort of food was prepared for us, the bread of anguish and the water of tribulation. For, whilst we were standing there and talking with one another, our guides began hastily, and with horrible cries, to drive us onward and hurry our departure from Jericho, because the men of Jericho had gathered themselves together, and were purposing to cut off our retreat, to the end that they might wring money from us. Seeing this, our leaders drove us

out of the city all the faster, and the armed men of our company rode their horses into the mass of them, and broke them into two bands, making a way for us through the midst of them. Hereupon boys and women ran up and pelted our host with stones ; and while they did this many were dragged from their asses, and robbed of their hats, and some were hurt with the stones. There was such a disturbance that by the running to and fro of men and beasts the dust was stirred up from the ground so thickly that it seemed as though Jericho were wrapped in a dark cloud. When the men of Jericho saw that they would get nothing out of us, and that we were slipping through their hands, they betook them to stones, and drove us and our guides out of their city, to our great peril, and we all fled as though they were pursuing us with swords. So we came forth from Jericho not only empty, but also beaten and disordered, whereat many of the knights were moved to wrath, and wished that fire might come down from heaven [*b*] and consume Jericho and all who dwelt therein, being moved by the same spirit as James and John in Luke ix., when they would not receive the Lord and His disciples in a village of the Samaritans, and these two wished fire to come down from heaven to consume it. But for so doing they were reprov'd, as we read in the same place.

THE CITY OF JERICO : WHAT IT WAS, AND WHAT IT
NOW IS.

The city of Jericho is otherwise called the city of palm-trees (2 Chron. xviii. 15), and lies in the heritage of the tribe of Benjamin. In the days of old it was a prosperous city on a good site, save only that it lacked sweet water until the days of the prophet Elisha, who sweetened an exceeding bitter fountain, as will be shown on page 7 A.

This was the first city which the children of Israel took after they crossed over Jordan, and many miracles were wrought at its taking, as may be seen in Josh. vi. Joshua utterly destroyed it, and laid a curse upon the eldest and youngest son of him who should rebuild it, wherefore when, after many years had gone by, one Hiel the Bethelite began to rebuild it and lay the foundation thereof, his first-born, Abiram, died, and when he set up the gates thereof his youngest son, Segub, died, according to the curse of Joshua (1 Kings xvi. 34). This city was first destroyed by Joshua, secondly by the Romans, thirdly by the Tartars, and last of all by other people, so that at this day it is a village, without walls or moats, and with but few inhabitants. The men of this village are dark-skinned and strong, and the women there are as strong as labouring men, so that one can scarce tell a woman from a man.

THE BEAUTEOUS GARDENS OF JERICHO, AND ITS ROSES.

When we were come forth from Jericho, we looked with evil eyes upon our guides, because of the annoyance which we had suffered, because we suspected that it had befallen us through practice on their part, and we were impatient through fasting, for it was Sunday, and hitherto we had eaten nothing, and were toiling in the heat of the sun. They had, indeed, promised us that we should find bread and water at Jericho, and that we might rest ourselves there. Now, when they saw that we were moved to wrath, they quieted us with soft words, saying that we should straightway come to a good fountain, and that bakers should follow after us from Jericho bringing bread. So we came forth from Jericho towards Mount Quarantana, and as we went along between the dry stone walls of the gardens of Jericho, we saw most beauteous orchards, which

are watered by the streams which run from the Fountain of Elisha, whereof I shall tell you in its place. In these gardens we saw many sycamores—tall trees—the sight whereof reminded us of that sycamore into which Zacchaeus climbed that he might see Jesus (Luke xix.). Besides sycamores, other trees grow there—both fruit-trees, and scented grape-vines, and many fig-trees bearing exceeding sweet fruit, and likewise we saw there sundry kinds of flowers and roses of many different sorts, and we smelt delicious and fragrant scents, for the bushes and thorny shrubs bear especially fine roses and sweet fruits. Green herbs and pot-herbs also seem to grow there better than anywhere else, and all plants, and whatever grows in the soil there, flourish exceedingly. Wherefore even the Divine wisdom likens itself to a rose, and not to any rose, but to the rose of Jericho, where they are most lovely. We read in Eccclus. xxiv. 14: ‘I was exalted as a rose-plant in Jericho.’ Also the blessed Virgin by the mouth of the Church every day declares herself to be like a rose in Jericho. Indeed, these roses are most beauteous, and feed the sight with their loveliness, rejoice the smell with their scent, delight the touch by their delicacy, cure the sick by their virtue, gladden the mournful by their colour, cause even serious men to admire them by their wondrous appearance, and prefigure the glories of paradise by their beauty. One of these roses has more than a hundred petals. Josephus, when mentioning these gardens in his ‘History of the Jewish War,’ Book V., ch. viii., says that this country once used to produce opobalsamum, which is the dearest of all fruits, and the cypress tree, which gives forth myrobalsamum, besides the fruits of the palms, of various taste and names, which, when pressed beneath the heel, pour forth much honey, very little worse than real honey. In other fruits, too, hardly any other country in

the world could vie with this, so many times does it give back every seed that is sown therein. We were astonished at such great fertility, inasmuch as the country above and below it is barren. This richness of soil is caused by Elisha's fountain.

GARIZIM AND HEBAL, THE MOUNTS OF BLESSING AND CURSING.

We went up by the watercourse which waters these gardens towards the hill-country from whence it flows, and that hill-country is lofty. We saw two mounts over against one another, one of which is named Garizim, and the other Gebal, or Hebal. But the Samaritans say that these two mounts are near Neapolis, which is Sichem; and, indeed, some Catholics say so likewise, and I have found it so in many descriptions of the Holy Land. But the blessed Jerome, in his work 'On the Distances of Places,' saith that they do greatly err who put forward any mountains as being the Mounts Garizim and Hebal, save only those near Jericho, forasmuch as the Scripture witnesseth that they are near to Gilgal. Moreover, those mountains near Sichem, which they call Garizim and Hebal, are a long way off one another, neither can the voices of blessing and cursing be heard from them both. Others say that they are two mounts, which are above St. John's Chapel, and below Gilgal. But I do not believe this either, because those mounts are only hillocks of sand piled up by the wind, and could not find room for so much people and so many princes; moreover, the sand could not support altars of unpolished stones, such as are enjoined in Deut. xxvii.

Let us, therefore, hold with St. Jerome that these mounts, which we had on our right hand, are Mounts Garizim and Hebal, since upon them the princes of the

twelve tribes could stand and build altars and shout forth curses and blessings from one mount to the other, and the people could stand in the plain below and hear them.

At the sight of these mounts, we were terror-stricken, because of the frightful curses which there were laid upon those who neglect the law, which are to be found in Deut. xxvii. and xxviii. Nor let any Christian say that these curses and blessings belonged only to the Jews, for they belong to the Christians also. Read Matt. v. 20: 'Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven.' Hence it is clear that these curses and blessings fully touch us in those matters which, after the Lord's coming, we were commanded to observe. So we bent our knees before those mounts, and called upon the Lord of mounts.

THE PLACE WHERE THE CHILDREN MOCKED ELISHA THE BALD PROPHET.

After this, we turned away from the mounts of blessing and cursing, and came to the foot of Mount Quarantana, following the watercourse along the road which leads from Jericho to Bethel, along which also we read that Elisha the prophet went up (2 Kings ii. 23, 24). While he was going up, little children came out of Jericho behind the holy man, and mocked him, and said unto him: 'Go up, thou bald head!' When the prophet heard and saw them, he prayed, and cursed those children; and straightway two bears came forth from a wood, and devoured forty-two of those children. Hence it is clear that it is a perilous thing to mock at old and bald men, seeing that old gray-haired and bald men ought rather to be held in honour.¹

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¹ A dissertation on baldness and the ecclesiastical tonsure is here omitted.—ED.

THE JOURNEY OF THE PILGRIMS TO THE FOUNTAIN OF
THE PROPHET ELISHA.

Leaving the place where the holy bald head was mocked, we went on upwards, by the stream of running water, and came into a deep bog, which we had much ado to pass over. Some men with their asses stuck in the mud, and could hardly scramble out, with all their clothes befouled, and those who took solitary side-paths got in deeper, while those who strove to get across at places where bushes grew had double trouble, because they both sank deep in the mire and came among exceeding sharp thorns; for all the self-sown bushes in that country bristle with sharp thorns, whose slightest scratch causes a grievous wound, as though the points of the thorns were poisoned. In crossing over that marsh, I and my beast fell among these thorns, and I could not get out of them with a whole cope; but I struggled through it with labour and fear, scratched through many holes which were torn in my clothes:

‘’Tis ill with a monk ’mid thistle and thorn,
For there doth his cope get tattered and torn.’

After crossing the marsh, we went up by the side of the stream, and came to a kind of mill, where the water turns wheels, and where there was no path whereby we could ascend further, save through the mill itself. When we came thither, the miller and his servants stood at the door against us with clubs and spears, and forbade us to pass through; howbeit, after a long wrangle, our guides burst into the house by force, and made a way for us to pass through. On the other side of the mill, [b] we went still higher up, and came to a shady place full of trees and bushes, through the midst of which the water rushed at a great pace. Here we dismounted from our asses, and went down under the green leaves, each company by itself.

We brought forth what was left in our srips, and ate it, and we drank of the water, which fell down among the rocks, and was clear, bright, fresh, and wholesome. But when I brought forth the remains out of my srip, I found everything—hard boiled eggs, bread, and cheese—all broken and mixed up together. This had befallen me while I was rolling about in the swamp with my ass, for there in my shaking about my srip got under me, so that I sat upon it, and thus ground all my food into exceeding small pieces. Howbeit, forasmuch as I was hungry, I sat me down, and ate these mixed-up scraps with pleasure; for to the hungry soul even bitter things seem sweet, as saith Job (ch. vi. 7): ‘The things that my soul refused to touch are as my sorrowful meat.’ I confess that now I touched and ate without disgust things which at home I would not have looked at, which I should even have shuddered at, and all that I grieved over was the small amount of those crumbs, and I lamented over their fewness. But I was relieved by some of the Minorite brethren, who know this pilgrimage by practice, and who make a sufficient provision for themselves of bread, and also of wine. Meanwhile, as we sat here, men and women came to us from Jericho, bringing great baskets full of grapes and loaves of bread, whereof we bought, and made a good meal without any cooked food.

When we were refreshed according rather to measure of our food than that of our desires, we settled ourselves for rest, every man in the place where he sat, and we moved away those stones which hindered our lying down, for the whole ground was full of exceeding sharp stones, between which we lay, and though this couch was hard, yet it was meet for rest, both on our part, and on that of the place; for we were weary and sober, and had passed the previous night almost without sleep, having been toiling and bathing

in the Jordan ; moreover, the noonday time was come when men are wont to be overcome by sleep. The place was shady and sheltered from the heat, and also the water, as it coursed eagerly along over the stones, made a noise which invited a weary man to sleep ; moreover, the leaves of the trees and bushes rustled against one another as the wind blew upon them, and the sound sweetened our slumbers ; for there a brook of exceeding clear water makes its way with a gentle murmur between green bushes and sweet-scented shrubs, and the wind, as it stirred the boughs with a low whistling noise, urged the weary to rest. During this time some of the pilgrims, after they had rested for a little while, rose up and went up the stream, meaning to reach the place where it flows out of the mountain ; but a Saracen met them and put them to flight with stones, and forced them to go back into their own place.

DESCRIPTION OF THE FOUNTAIN OF THE PROPHET
ELISHA : WHAT IT WAS, AND WHAT IT NOW IS.

The fountain whence this stream flows is called the Fountain of Elisha, and its source was not far from the place where we took our rest, albeit we were not suffered to go thither. It wells out from the foot of [207 *a*] the mountain, pouring forth plenteous waters with a strong stream, which runs down a glade and waters the plain country about Jericho, whence it flows on towards the Dead Sea, into which it falls. Now, before the time of Elisha, this water was always exceeding bitter, pestilent, unwholesome, barren, and poisonous, as is also the water of the Dead Sea ; wherefore some have supposed that the water of the Dead Sea made its way up hither by some underground channel, and that it here burst forth and flowed back again to the place from whence it came.

From this fountain to the Dead Sea is a distance of three German miles. Before Elisha this water was in no wise drinkable, neither for men nor beasts, but whosoever was forced to drink thereof, his mouth, palate, tongue, and throat were presently steeped in abominable bitterness, and should he swallow any of it he straightway fell sick of the plague or some of the like deadly diseases, which were followed by death, even as doth the water of the Dead Sea at this day. Moreover, every woman who used this water was thereby rendered utterly barren, and she who had already conceived a child in the womb perished at the taste of this water. So also happened with beasts. Land watered with this water could not bring forth any green thing, but was rendered useless, wherefore the city of Jericho was much prejudiced by the course of this most abominable water. But once upon a time the prophet Elisha tarried at Jericho, and was received with joy and honour by the people of Jericho, who, when he asked them about the state of their city, answered: 'Behold, I pray thee, the situation of this city is pleasant, but the water thereof is naught, and the ground barren.' When the prophet heard this he took a cruse full of salt, went forth to the spring of the waters, and cast the salt in there; and then, while he raised his right hand of righteousness towards heaven, and poured a soothing libation into the fountain, prayed of it that it would temper the bitterness of its stream, and open forth veins of sweet water, and withal begged of God that He would blow upon the river with more fruitful breezes, and grant to the dwellers in the city both plenteousness of fruits of the earth, and increase of children to succeed them. By these prayers the waters were made wholesome and sweeter than all other waters and springs, and the fountain, which hitherto had been the cause of barrenness and famine, now became the

maker of food and plenty. The power of its water is so great that if it doth but moisten the earth it makes it more fertile than other ground whereon water hath stood for a long while. They who use it plenteously reap little, but they who use it sparingly reap abundantly. Moreover, it waters a greater space of ground than other fountains, supplying a plain of seventy-five stadia in length and twenty in width, and making exceeding lovely gardens where it passes by, as hath been told above. In summer it is cool; in winter, warm. Women who are childless, and barren animals, conceive after drinking of this water and bathing therein. So healthful and fruitful is the course of this water that a man would not err in calling that tract of land divine, and therein all the fruits that men chiefly prize grow large and exceeding good. Thus says Josephus, in the second book of his 'History of the Jewish War,' ch. viii.

This fountain is distant one hundred and fifty stadia from Jerusalem, and sixty from the Jordan. All the country from Jerusalem thither is a stony wilderness; that reaching down to the Jordan and the Dead Sea is lower, and like a sea beach, but as barren and untilled as the other, save only the parts watered by that blessed fountain, [b] which bloom as green as paradise. We drank of this water like cows, without stint, forasmuch as when we reached it we were spent with drought and exceeding thirsty, yet no man was hurt thereby. This water and its healing powers are mentioned by the Church in the service for the consecration of holy water.

THE DANGEROUS ASCENT INTO THE CAVE WHERE
CHRIST FASTED, AND THE SITUATION OF THE CAVE
AND MOUNTAIN.

So we rested beside the stream running from the aforesaid fountain for an hour and more, waiting for the

sun's heat to grow less ; but in the meantime, in spite of the heat, we underwent much toil—that is to say, not all of us, but those who would and who could do so ; howbeit, the greater part of the pilgrims shared in this labour, and the peril which followed it. We arose, left the cool refreshing shade, came out from among the goodly trees into the excessive glowing heat of the sun, and without any path essayed to climb up a high mountain, crawling up over the rocks and stones. In this ascent many who were sickly and overpowered by the heat stayed behind, and were unable to go on any further, but rested till they recovered their breath, and then went down into the shade again. As we went up we came to where some of the pilgrims, and the ladies our companions in pilgrimage, who had come up hither during the hour of rest, were sitting, not daring to go farther. When we asked them why they did not go forward, they answered that they would not go on for all the world, because of the danger of the path ; for he who travels there must needs go to his left hand along the edge of an exceeding deep valley, along so narrow a path that no one could pass along it save by going sideways, because the path lies along the face of a wall of rock, in such sort that on one side of you there is an exceeding deep valley, on the other side an upright and lofty wall of rock, towards which he that passes must needs turn his face, lest he should be made dizzy with fear at the abyss below, and also that he may cling to the wall with both his hands, and having found places whereby to hold on, may look at his feet to see where he shall put one foot after the other, and one hand after the other. For, should his foot only once slip or move aside from the place where he puts it, he needs must fall headlong into the valley below, for the valley is at his back ; before his face is a wall of rock rising high into the air, and beneath

his feet is a narrow and uneven pathway, in some places broken through by rifts in the rock, through which rifts one has a glimpse of exceeding deep and dark abysses.

If the traveller looks down into the valley, he soon begins to shudder at looking down so lofty a precipice; if he looks towards the wall to which he clings, he fears lest its overhanging masses should fall upon him. So we took to ourselves heart of grace and entered this narrow path, through which we made our way not without fear. Thereafter we came to an exceeding dangerous ascent, at the foot whereof many knights stood still, afraid to climb up, because a slip or the slightest false step during that climb would be death: for there was no way of getting up save to seek with one's hands and feet for places wherein one could plant them. When we had reached to the top, we came upon the entrance to a cave. Here stood an infidel Arab with a club, [208 *a*] who would let no one go in unless he gave him a Venetian mark. We paid this money and entered the cave, wherein it is believed that the Lord Jesus fasted for forty days and nights, as we are told by the Evangelists (Matt. iv., Mark i., and Luke iv.). Here we sang, '*Ductus est Jesus*,' etc., with the other hymns appointed in the processional of the Holy Land. After this we bowed ourselves down in prayer, received plenary indulgences (††), and remained awhile in this most holy cave in contemplation and devout conversation. Here, then, it was that our Saviour dwelt solitary, fasted, prayed, watched, lay and slept on the bare ground, lived humbly and in peace with the beasts of the field, fought with the devil, meditated on the Scriptures, and rejoiced when ministered to by angels. Oh, what a holy wilderness! to which the Holy Spirit led the Son of God, which the Lord Jesus hath hallowed by His dwelling therein, which He hath ennobled by His most worthy fasting, and hath glorified by the

wondrous examples of other virtues therein shown by Him, where He unmasked the deceits of the most furious enemy of the human race, and hath handed down to those who are tempted the means whereby they can overcome him. Wherefore this cave ought rather to be called a school of virtues than a cavern in the wilderness. After we had finished our meditation we proceeded to examine this holy place, scanning the cavern more curiously than before. It is a fairly large cave in the rock, not hewn out by human art, but opened by the Creator in the beginning, having on one side light coming down from above through an opening. In old times it was consecrated by the Christians as a chapel, and there were therein two altars and paintings on the walls, which may still be seen. Through the opening by which the cave is lighted there is a way up to the top of the mountain, over exceeding steep rocks, an ascent too perilous for anyone to make. It was by this way that the devil brought the Lord Jesus to the top of the mountain, and there showed Him all the kingdoms of the earth, as will be shown. I climbed up into the window, but did not dare to adventure upon the ascent; indeed, I shuddered even at the sight of the deep abyss below and the height of the rock above. Many of the other pilgrims stood watching me; if I had gone out, many would have followed me. So after we had seen all that there was in the holy cave, we went out of it with the same caution and fear, and climbed over the rocks in another direction to some other caves: for all round about the mountain there are caves in the rocks, and beneath the stones, and in the stony walls, which caves are partly natural and partly artificial. In them Christian saints used to dwell in the days of old, for then the whole mountain was full of religious persons who passed their time there with the Lord in penitential mortifications. During both my pilgrimages I wandered about this holy

mountain, and found many cells cut out of the hardest rock, caves in the steepest precipices, and grottoes on dangerous slopes, wherein I saw the dread abodes of holy monks, and I could trace in those caves distinct places for prayer, for sleep, for the dressing of food, for the keeping of necessaries, and in the walls square recesses to place books in. On the opposite slopes I saw caves, to which no one could get save hunters of goats and wild beasts, wherein once monks dwelt, and used to go in and out by secret [*δ*] passages, by a way which they hid from all men, that they might not be disturbed by the visits of people. But, alas! all these caverns and cells are now empty, and are the dens of wild beasts. Not many years have passed since a convent of Eastern monks was still dwelling there, but they were driven out by a certain Saracen lord of Gazara, who destroyed the path up to the cave, so that no one could reach it. But the Soldan, when appealed to by the Christians, repaired the path in the fashion in which it now stands. It was to this mountain country that the two spies, whom Joshua had sent to Jericho, went up for refuge, and lay hid in these caves according to the counsel of Rahab the harlot, as we read in Josh. ii.

THE ASCENT OF ANOTHER MOUNTAIN, AND THE
TROUBLE WHICH WE HAD THERE.

After we had thoroughly explored the dwellings and caves of the saints, we then wished that we were on the top of the mountain, up to which a long path led over steep rocks; and so steep and precipitous did this way seem to us, that no one thought he should be able to climb up it. A man who was with us, and who had climbed it at another time, told us that we could not reach the top from that side, but that if we wanted to go up we must first go nearly all the way down again, and walk round the foot of the

mountain towards the north, for on that side we could go up without fear of precipices, though not without great toil and fatigue. So we went down again almost as far as the place where we had left the host, and there we stood still and debated whether we would walk round the mountain and climb up it, for we had no guide to show us the right place to go up it. It chanced, however, that a tall Saracen stripling was passing by on the slope of the mountain above us, so we called him to us and gave him a *madinus* to lead us to the top. The young man took the money and began to go towards the place of ascent, and we to follow after him. When our guides saw this, they came out of the shade and with loud cries forbade us to go up, saying that they were about to leave the place and go on their way. Moreover, the other pilgrims also, who had remained in the shade, stood endeavouring to call us back, and pretended to be getting ready to go away. Howbeit we followed the youth, and took no heed of their shouts; indeed, we were vexed that our own brother pilgrims should shout to us to come back. I heard one of the knights who were with us say, 'Were it not for the Saracens, whose wrath I fear, I would turn round and abuse the pilgrims who are crying out after me; and if they then still went on shouting, I would show my bare a—— to them.' By saying this he made us all laugh heartily. Meanwhile we had got a long way from them, so that we could not hear their shouts; but we could see them mounting their horses and asses, as though they meant to go away without us, and we also saw several pilgrims running after us, who, when they saw our obstinacy, set at naught the shouts of the Saracens and joined us. So we went on our way, out of sight of the host, and came to the place where the ascent of the mountain began, where we waited for those who were following after us, that we might all go up together.

Then we began to climb up a steep hill. Now, one of the pilgrims went on his knees before the mountain, called upon God, [209*a*] and began to ascend the mountain in that posture on his bended knees, with his body upright and his arms stretched out in the fashion of a cross. Thus he went all the way up that exceeding rugged and uneven hill, without helping himself either with his hands or his feet ; but when he was obliged, he rested on his elbows, in such sort that he did not use his hands to pull himself up by, save when he could not get on without doing so, as happened several times in steep places. What toil and torment this pilgrim suffered in that climb was proved by his violent swaying about from side to side as he stepped along upon his knees : for when he made a step with his left knee, he leaned altogether over to his left side ; if with his right knee, to his right ; and while doing this he often would fall on one side or the other, or flat upon his face. His shoes were broken, and on his knees the skin was burst, so that he marked each of his steps with blood. His sleeves were torn at the elbows, his arms were hurt, his face swelled, and the whole appearance of the man changed. Lo ! where we with difficulty crawled up using our feet and hands, he climbed up on his knees and all fours, manfully setting at naught his tortures : for holy penance makes bitter things sweet, makes heavy things light, makes hard things soft. Who, I pray you, would not be roused to pity on seeing the arduous, difficult, and virtuous exercise of that pilgrim ? Who would not repent him of sin on beholding such a dread punishment of sinners ? So we climbed up to the top of that hill and saw above us a peak a long way off, up to which we panted with deepdrawn, short, and hurried breath, thinking that there our climbing would be at an end. But when with toil we had reached this peak, there then appeared another lofty peak, which

towered aloft above all that hill country, and though we were already higher than any of the mountains round about, yet from that height where we were there arose another round mountain, wide below and ever rising up sharper above; the higher it grows the steeper and rougher it is, forasmuch as it is clothed on every side with exceeding sharp rocks; for the mountain itself is of the smoothest stone, from which these rocks and sharp crags jut out. So we hastened one another, made trial of the holy mount itself, and got up to the top thereof, those who got up first reaching down their hands to those below and pulling them up the crags. We all together awaited the coming of the aforesaid pilgrim, and drew him up to us faint and half dead. We then went to the middle part of the mountain-top, and there sat ourselves down under the wall of a chapel in the shade to get our breath before we said our prayers: for we were exceeding wearied and faint by reason of our toilsome ascent, and were glowing with the heat of the sun, wherefore some pilgrims while they sat getting their breath fell down on the ground in a fever fit; some were scarce able to breathe; while the rest sat fanning their faces with their hats and clothes. We had much trouble and anxiety about one pilgrim, whose rank and position I do not choose to mention, out of pious respect. This pilgrim lay on the mountain like one dead, and had no sense or use of his reason, but was dragged about in our hands like a corpse. Howbeit, a certain Dominican monk from Florence revived and recovered him, for he carried cordials about him for that purpose. I verily believe that had that friar not been there, the pilgrim would have died on the mountain. With regard to the fainting of this pilgrim, I wish to disclose [*b*] this secret for our edification. This pilgrim came from over-sea parts, and was a priest and monk who strictly observed his rule. On his de-

parture from home, when he undertook this holy pilgrimage, he dressed himself in an iron coat of mail upon his bare skin, and never took it off throughout the whole journey, but wore it hidden beneath his pilgrim's garments, by day and by night, on sea and on land, in heat and in cold. He tried many ways to hide it from us, but could not. These and other things, when known among pilgrims, render their pilgrimage more devout than any holy places, forasmuch as examples move men more than words, and words move them more than places. Good and simple Christians believe that if they were at the places where the Lord Jesus wrought the work of our redemption, they would derive much devotion from them ; but I say to these men of a truth that meditation about these places, and listening to descriptions of them, is more efficacious than the actual seeing and kissing of them. Unless a pilgrim hath before his eyes some living example of devotion, the place helps him little in the matter of true holiness. Those weepings and sobbings which are common at the holy places arise for the most part from the fact that when one pilgrim weeps another cannot refrain from tears, and so sometimes all of them lament together ; or because some people have the art of working themselves up to weep even in matters unconnected with religion. Such people as these shed many futile tears at the holy places, and make a howling at almost all of them, not because of the power which the place exercises over them, albeit the places do certainly tend to devotion, but because of the ease with which they weep. But I have no doubt of this, that were there ten good Christians in my cell at Ulm, who had a desire to see the Holy Land and the places sacred to the Lord Jesus, I could rouse their devotion and stir up their souls more deeply by my talk about those places than if they were actually lying bowed to the earth in the holy places them-

selves. 'I have been prompted to say this at this place because we were exceeding devout on this mountain, because we had accomplished a difficult work and had seen examples of great virtue. So when we were refreshed and had got back our breath, we all rose together, and chanted the service appointed in the processional, with the collects. We most devoutly bowed ourselves down to the ground, prayed to God, and paid our due service to the Lord Jesus to show our contempt for that over-weening Satan, who in this place dared to tempt the Creator of himself and of all things, and to lead Him by false promises to fall down and worship him, showing to Him in one moment of time, as we read in Luke iv., all the kingdoms of the world and their glory, saying, 'All these are mine, and I will give them unto Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship me.' At this place we received plenary indulgences (††).

THE COUNTRIES WHICH WE SAW FROM THAT
MOUNTAIN.

When we had finished our prayers, lo! there came up another troop of the pilgrims to us, who said that had we not ascended they would long ago have left the place. We were cheered by their coming, for had they gone away without us, things would indeed have gone ill with us. We now lifted up our eyes, and looked round about us far and wide over the country, and saw with our eyes that what St. Matthew says in his fourth chapter is true, when he calls this an exceeding high mountain, for the Evangelist would not say 'exceeding' unless the mountain were extremely high. On every side we beheld places often mentioned in Scripture: [210 *a*] for to the eastward we saw the very mountainous land of Arabia, reaching through a long tract from north to south. Among these mountains rises Mount Nebo, Phasca, or Abarim, from whence

Moses viewed the Holy Land, and which we saw standing up pre-eminent above all the rest. The mount and country of Gilead, which was given to the tribe of Reuben, the tribe of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh, the land and plains of Moab and Ammon, even to the stony wilderness that is beyond Jordan, we also had before our eyes, albeit this was a long way off; Heshbon also and Bashan. On our side of Jordan we saw the great plain of Jericho, the bed of the Jordan with its wildernesses, and the Dead Sea.

To the southward, beyond the Dead Sea, we saw the great wilderness of St. Jerome, the Mounts of Engaddi, the Mount of Lot, the wilderness of Tekoa, and the hill country of Idumaea.

To the north we saw the mountains of Israel, whereon we also had been. We were not able to descry the mountains which stand round about Jerusalem, for that they were higher than we; for the mountains and the wilderness of Quarantana lie on the shoulder of the Mount of Olives. We saw all the aforesaid places more distinctly when we were on the Mount of Engaddi, about which mount and other matters see page 283 *b*.

Lastly, at the foot of the mountain whereon we stood is Jericho, to the southward of which is Haji.¹ Towards the west is the city named Bethel, where Jacob saw the ladder in his dreams, and where at this day the stone is shown which he had beneath his head when he saw the ladder, and upon which he poured oil when he awaked out of sleep. The Hebrews say that Jacob, wishing to sleep, piled up three stones and put them under his head, because the text says that he took of the stones of that

¹ Ai. See Stanley's 'Sinai and Palestine,' s. 77. On p. 204, note, we read that Van de Velde and Williams (ii. 378) fix the site of Ai at Tel el Hajar, the 'Mount of Stones,' a little to the north of Michmash.

place, and that when he awaked after the vision of the ladder, the three stones were made into one stone, wherefore the text says that he set up a stone. It was in this place that Jeroboam, King of Israel, set up one of the golden calves, that the people might not go up to Jerusalem. We read of Jacob's ladder in Gen. xxviii., and of the golden calf in 1 Kings xii. 32. After this we betook ourselves to viewing the mountain itself, which is exceeding lofty, but forasmuch as it rises out of the plain country, the mountains on the western side rest upon it and therefore are higher than it. The whole of the mountain is rocky, hard, barren, and steep. On the top of it stood a chapel, which now is destroyed, but whose walls and ruins are to be seen at this day, and it seems as though there had been a monastery there. So much for this.

THE RETURN OF THE PILGRIMS TOWARDS THE HOLY CITY OF JERUSALEM.

Now, after we had spent an hour on the top of the holy mount, we made ready to go down. Some young knights went on before us, running and leaping down, but we followed them sedately over the rocks and crags, the slopes and steep places. On our way down, when we were come to a pretty high precipice, we heard down at the foot of the mountain shouts and noises of men angrily wrangling in Arabic and German. Among this we could hear someone calling out 'Robbery!' in German words, [*b*] *Mordjo!* *Mordjo!* On hearing this we straightway understood that those knights who had gone down before us were in trouble, and we hurriedly slipped down the hillside and let ourselves down the precipice till we came to the place of strife. Here five pilgrim noblemen were standing in a hollow cave at the foot of the mountain, holding stones in their hands, ready to cast them; four Arabs stood in front

of the cave, also with stones, and they were wrangling together, forasmuch as the Arabs demanded money of them by way of toll, which they refused to pay. We put ourselves between them as peacemakers, lest they should cast stones at one another, seeing that, had this come to pass, all the pilgrims would have been held to have broken their treaty of safe-conduct, and we should have come into great trouble. We had much ado to prevail upon our comrades to lay down their stones: the Arabs also asked us for money, but we told them that we would pay them nothing at that place, but only in the host in the presence of our guides. And so we brought forth our brethren from that cave, and rescued them from the hands of the Arabs. But had they been stronger than we, in no wise would they have let us depart in peace; howbeit as it was, those five pilgrims would have eaten up the four Arabs had they come to blows. While we were thus going on our way from those Arabs, they threatened us that they would be revenged upon us, and indeed they were, as will appear hereafter. So we came back to the host in the shady place by the water, bought bread and grapes, and made a meal. But the aforesaid Arabs called their fellows to them, and placed themselves over against us, armed with lances and other weapons, in the midst of the road over which we were about to go. Now, when the sun set, and his heat abated, we rose up from that spot, mounted our asses, and set forth over the plains. But the Arabs met us, and would not let us pass before we had paid them toll for our going up the mountain, and for the rash resistance of the pilgrims. For the Arabs say that they are the lords of all wildernesses and waste places, and therefore they take no heed of safe-conducts, but extort toll from all who pass through the desert. So after a long dispute our Saracen guides forced the captains of the

galleys to pay eight ducats to the Arabs for a toll for trespassing on the mountains and for the violence used towards them, forasmuch as the pilgrims had taken up stones against them and had escaped from them by force. This money the captains paid with the most furious anger, and they cursed us, and wanted to know who the culprits were in this matter, but this no one would tell them, for had they known who those pilgrims were, they would have extorted some more money from them. So after this affair was over and the Arabs had let us go, we went down towards Jericho; but, leaving it on our left hand, went on towards the south along the foot of the mountain, that we might reach the king's highway, whereby we had come down thither from Jerusalem. On the public road above Jericho we came to a small vaulted house built in the shape of a chapel, which is the place where the Lord Jesus gave sight to the two blind men, as we read in Matt. xx., whereof one was known to many, and was called Bar Timaeus, the son of Timaeus, and who alone is mentioned in Mark x. At this place we dismounted from our asses, kissed the footprints of the Lord Jesus, and received indulgences (†). On leaving that place we came to the way up into the hill country, which is the mountain wilderness of Adummim. Here there once stood a town, whose ruins we saw, which was named Adummim—that is to say, the going up of the red-handed ones, because of the blood which was often shed here by robbers, and from this fort all that wilderness from Jericho even to Bethany is called Adummim, and for the succour of travellers through this cruel and bloody place a fort was built here—to wit, the aforesaid fort of Adummim. This place is mentioned Josh. xviii. Moreover, in the parable of the man who went down from Jerusalem to Jericho, the Lord mentions this most dangerous road, where the man was robbed and

wounded (Luke x.), wherefore at this day the Germans call the aforesaid fort and wilderness *Rothbach*—that is to say, ‘stream of blood.’ For the Arabs come up and lurk in that wilderness by the roadside and rob passers-by, and the Saracens dare not pass up and down it save in large troops. So when we were come into the desert of Adummim, our guides never ceased to urge us and spur us on to march quickly, which thing in my second pilgrimage was no trouble to any of us. But I could hardly tell you what sufferings we went through on that road on my first pilgrimage. I make bold to say that on my first pilgrimage I myself and my companions underwent greater hardships and miseries on our pilgrimage to the Jordan alone, than in all the roads over which we travelled in my second pilgrimage. When it was dark we came to steep places and hills, and when we were climbing up heights they forced us to dismount from our asses and walk on foot, though we could scarce draw breath for want of food. I have seen many pilgrims sitting on their asses, unable even to hold the asses’ bridles through weakness, wherefore some of them fell off, let their asses go, and lay on the ground; howbeit the Saracens angrily forced them to go on. The toils of that night were made unbearable by the darkness, the danger of precipices, the faintness of the pilgrims, and the tiresome way in which the Saracens drove them forward: for as carters who are taking great weights in their carts over steep and mountainous roads, threaten and urge forward their beasts with incessant shouts and blows, even so our leaders never ceased to hurry us and our beasts along over exceeding dangerous roads, where a slip would have meant death to a beast and a fall over a precipice to a man. So hard and toilsome was this work that had anyone scanned the faces of the pilgrims with a light, he would have seen cheeks wet with

tears, and eyes red with weeping among men who in our country are decked out with gold, silver, and precious stones. I heard that night some groaning and weeping, and some praying, while some cursed themselves, the road, the land, their knighthood, and the Saracens. Others I heard muttering to themselves to keep up their spirits. But during all these labours our fellow-pilgrims and comrades, the ancient ladies, outdid all of us, wrested the first place from the knights, neither groaned nor [*b*] bewailed their toils, but went on first in the whole line of march, stronger than men and braver than knights. These old ladies struck great shame into us by their endurance; indeed, a knight said to me, 'Lo! my brother, I don't believe these old creatures to be women at all, but devils, for women, especially old women, are frail, tender, and delicate, whereas these women are made of iron, and are stronger than all of us knights.' I wished that Solomon could have been in our host, and he would have found not one, but many strong women. For in his own time he appointed a prize for one strong woman from the furthest ends of the earth, as is told in Prov. xxi., but he found not one, wherefore he saith (Eccles. vii.), 'One (strong) man among a thousand have I found, but a woman among all those have I not found.' But had he been with our host, he would not have found one strong man, for they were all broken down by toil and lean with fasting, whereas no woman was weak, or sighed, or complained of the toils she underwent. Whence, however, could power have come to weaklings, and strength to women, save from Him who hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the strong, and who set these women above the men, that none of them might boast of his sex, his strength, his beauty, his youth, or his noble birth?—for these women were neither men, nor strong, nor beauteous, nor noble,

yet they underwent without fainting all the labours whereby knighthood is gained. Herein God confounded the pride of those knights who scorned to have these ladies for their companions, and who thought it a small matter that one of them should be lost in the wilderness beside Jordan, as is told above, on page 201 *a*, where you will find more on this matter. But perchance you will laugh at them, and sneer at their female superstitions. Your answer may be found in Jerome's tract against *Vigilantius*: 'I do not blush,' saith he, 'at the faith of women, seeing that it was women who first beheld the risen Lord, who were sent to the Apostles, who are commended by the holy Apostles in the person of the Mother of the Lord our Saviour.' But why do I waste time over the praise of these old ladies? Let this suffice for the present.

So about midnight, after many fatigues and a steep climb, we came to a fountain springing out of a hillside, which I think to be that which is called the Fountain of the Sun in Josh. xviii., perhaps because it stands over against the rising of the sun, and is warmed by his rays, or it may be that it was preordained by the Holy Spirit that this fountain should be so named, because the Sun of Righteousness, Christ our God, is believed to have often drunk thereof, seeing that He came up and down this road many times. At this fountain our guides ordered us to dismount, on hearing which we did not dismount, but threw ourselves off our beasts for joy. Round about this fountain there is an ancient and ruinous building, whereof the four walls alone remain standing, which once was a caravanserai, or inn, and is called the Red House,¹ which name also comes from the name of the desert, Adummim. We entered into this house, lighted candles, and made the place fit for

¹ See Theoderich, chap. xxviii., and Tobler's note thereon.

us by clearing away the ordure of man and beast, whereof it was full, and putting stones to sit on and sleep on.

After we had cleansed the place, we sat down, brought out the last crumbs from our scrips, and ate them. But the greater part were so weary that, as soon as they had dismounted from their asses, they threw themselves down on the ground, unable to eat, drink, or speak, and hoped for rest. Meanwhile, round about the well, there was pushing and disorder, both men and beasts striving to get at the water, for which also the sick were crying, because we were all thirsty, and the fountain was exceeding small; and many disputes arose there between us and the Saracens, because they themselves stood in front of the well-curb, and drank like cows, but would not give place to us. Having finished our eating and drinking after a fashion, we put out all the lights, [212 *a*] and went to sleep on the ground, lying upon stones, where we fell into a deep and mighty slumber. As hunger is said to be a good cook, seeing that he maketh all food taste well, even so labour is said to be a good bed, for he maketh all places fit for sleep and resting. It was dangerous to sleep in that place—firstly, because the walls were ruinous, and stones detached from the mortar hung above our heads, threatening to fall; secondly, because of the serpents and scorpions, which lurk in ancient walls and beneath stones, more especially in places where water is; thirdly, because of the lice from the sheep, asses, and other beasts, more especially certain vermin called Pharaoh's lice, which swarm on the ground all through the wilderness, as will be told on page 247, and which were running about on the ground here also; fifthly, because of the hardness of our couch; and, sixthly, because of the Saracen thieves who kept us company. But notwithstanding all these dangers, we cast away all care from us, and slept most bravely. Our guides

told us that they meant to awaken us before dawn, but it chanced otherwise, for they also were weary like ourselves—albeit they had toiled less—and both they and we slept till sunrise. At this fountain David refreshed himself when he came thither weary from Jerusalem with his men, as is told in 2 Sam. xvii.

THE MARCH OF THE PILGRIMS, AND THEIR JOURNEY
UP TO JERUSALEM.

On the twenty-first, which is the day of St. Praxedes the virgin, what time the risen sun had bathed the peaks and the tops of the rugged rocks with golden splendour, the Saracens impatiently began to rouse us up with loud shouts; some cried in their tongue *Roq, roq!* some *Trica, trica!* some *Cabalca, cabalca!* some in our own language, whereof they had learned some few words, cried, *Uff, uff!* *Rita, rita!* which, indeed, is the meaning of the foregoing words. So we arose, and, lifting up our eyes, beheld the light of the sun on the mountain-tops, for we were in a deep vale, girt about on every side by rocky mountains. We were well comforted and refreshed by our rest; we filled our bottles with water at the Saviour's well, and departed, leading our asses by our hands, because there was a steep slope there, which reached up a long way, and we could not have kept our seats on our beasts; so we began to sweat early in the morning, before the heat of the sun set in. On our way, we came to a stone standing like a caldron by the way-side, whereof they say that it is *thaben Boen*—that is to say, the stone of Bohan, the son of Reuben, which marks the boundary of the land of the children of Juda, according to Jerome 'On the Distances of Places.' This stone is mentioned in Josh. xviii. 17. From this text it seems that the stone was lower down, beyond the fort of Adummim. But whether it be that stone

or another matters little; it was in that place that we thought with wonder of the deed in the days of old, whereof the stone is a token.

THE PLACE WHERE THE ANNUNCIATION OF THE BIRTH
OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN WAS MADE TO JOACHIM.

Passing by the stone of Bohan, we saw, as we went up the hill, an ancient house on the right-hand, standing among crags and bushes. This house stands on the place where the shepherds of Joachim, the father of the most blessed Virgin Mary, were feeding their flocks, [b] to whom Joachim fled when the reproach of childlessness was publicly cast in his teeth, and his offerings thrown down from the altar in the temple. Here he dwelt sorrowful, beseeching God with devout prayers that he would have pity on him, and grant him patience. One day, when he was praying with more devotion and fire than usual, lo! the angel Gabriel appeared in a bright light before him as he prayed, and he, seeing him, was astonished and troubled. The angel said unto him: 'Fear not, Joachim, for thy prayer hath been heard, and thy tears have come up before God, and lo! Anna thy wife shall bear thee a daughter, and thou shalt call her name Mary, and she shall be filled with the Holy Ghost even from her mother's womb. She shall be exalted far above all women; she shall remain a virgin for ever, and, nevertheless, she shall conceive of the Most Highest, and shall bear a son, and shall be called the mother of the Son of God. And this shall be a sign unto thee: when thou shalt be come unto Jerusalem, and be about to enter in at the Golden Gate, thou shalt meet Anna thy wife, and she shall be gladdened in heart at the sight of thee.' With these words the angel vanished away. So in this place we bowed ourselves down to the earth, prayed, and received indulgences.

Now, while we were talking to one another at this place, a certain pilgrim raised the following question: 'Lo!' quoth he, 'we keep the Feast of St. Anne, but not that of St. Joachim, yet Joachim was at least as holy as Anne, as we see from the legend itself.' Some attempted to solve this problem, and fell into strange mistakes about the conception of the blessed Virgin, declaring that she was not conceived in original sin, because before Joachim and Anne met beneath the Golden Gate, she was found to be with child by the Holy Ghost. Others said that Anne conceived by Joachim's kiss alone, and much nonsense was talked by those who tried to find out a reason why the Feast of Anne should be kept rather than that of Joachim.

BAHURIM, WHERE SHIMEI CURSED KING DAVID.

Going onwards, we went up the side of the hill Bahurim, whereon there once stood a fort, named Baurim, whereof we read in 2 Sam. xvi. 5. Some books read 'Bahurim.' The king's highway led underneath this fort. So we halted there, and recalled to our memory this most notable deed. When King David with all his host was driven out of Jerusalem by Absalom his son, and had come to this place, one named Shimei came forth and cursed the king and all his servants, and cast stones at them, and flung down dust upon them from above. When one of David's men would have slain him, David forbade him, being unwilling that he should be hurt at that time for the wrong that he had done. We admired the patience and misery of the holy king, and were angry with ourselves, who are stirred up by one trifling word to take vengeance on our neighbours. Lo! by this way King David was passing barefoot and with his head covered, weeping, and all his servants with him in mourning raiment, driven out of their

own houses. One of his servants, a man-of-war, comes up, curses the king, throws stones at the king, casts dust over him, repeats his curses, and commits the crime of high treason, which in all countries is punished. Yet at all this the gentle king is not moved to wrath, but humbly passes by, and quiets his angry followers, saying to them : ‘ Let him alone, and let him curse, for the Lord hath bidden him. It may be that the Lord will look on mine affliction, and that the Lord will requite me good for his cursing this day.’ In all the range of Holy Scripture there is scarce any text so pitiful as this of David’s flight from Jerusalem, and his patience when he was being cursed. [213 *a*] When a man knows this text and passes along this road, he can scarce refrain himself from tears when he thinks of such great goodness. Oh, how bitterly would St. Gregory have wept in this place ! seeing that we read that he wept in the forum of the Emperor Trajan, because of the kindness which, as he had read, that emperor showed at that place to a certain widow who made her supplication to him ; for it is incomparably more merciful to show mercy to one who curses and abuses than to one who supplicates and blesses. From this place David went down to the Fountain of the Sun and rested there, being weary. Now, we went on from this place upwards, and beheld the Mount of Olives a long way off, with the Church of the Lord’s Ascension which stands on the top thereof ; and seeing this we rejoiced, because we were near to Jerusalem.

THE PLAIN BEFORE THE CASTLE OF BETHANY.

So we went on homewards, and on our way came into a plain, from which on one side rises the Mount of Olives, and on another the Mount of Offence. At this plain ends the wilderness of Adummim, for from thence down even to

the Jordan is a barren wilderness, save only the country which is watered by Elisha's fountain; but from this plain towards the Mount of Olives, on the slope whereof it lies, there are most lovely gardens, orchards, and groves. On this plain stands the fort of Bethany, which is built on the side of the Mount of Olives, and reaches from thence down to the plain. This plain is floored with exceeding wide and flat stones, as though it had been artificially paved; but in places where the ground is not covered with stones there stand olives and other fruit-trees. Moreover, in this plain there are many cisterns, hewn deep into the exceeding hard rock. We went on our way across this plain towards Bethany, and in front of the castle we came to an upright stone which is so placed that one can sit thereon; this stone cannot be moved, but rises out of the depths of the ground, and is exceeding hard. It is said that the Lord Jesus sat upon this stone when after Lazarus's death he came up from the country about Jordan, and sat down before the gate of the castle, where Martha came to him, and talked most faithfully with the Lord Jesus about faith, resurrection, and life eternal. In like manner Mary Magdalen met Christ, weeping that He should have been absent when Lazarus her brother died, as we read in John xi. 21. So at this holy place we halted, and went through the service appointed in the processional; after which we bowed ourselves down to the earth, kissed the place, and received plenary indulgences (††). At this holy place the Lord shed tears, and was distressed at the weeping of the two sisters, wherefore the Church sings of them: *O felicitis soror utraque meriti, quarum lacrimis est motus fons ipse pietatis*. I believe that in the days of old there stood some sort of chapel or church at this place.

THE HOUSE AND STOREHOUSE OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.

From this place we went on for about a bowshot towards the right hand, and came to an ancient ruined church, which stands on the place where St. Mary Magdalen more especially dwelt ; for Lazarus, Mary Magdalen, and Martha were rich, and had many dwellings within and without the fort, and in Jerusalem, and at the fort of Magdalum in Galilee. Now, this was the house of Mary Magdalen, and after her conversion [*b*] there was laid up in it a store for the Lord containing divers spices, from which she herein wrought cordials and unguents to keep off sweating and heat, cold, chills, and weariness ; and she followed the Lord everywhere, bearing with her these precious ointments, and was wont to anoint His limbs therewith. Thus she who before her conversion used these things for her own bodily luxury afterwards made use of them to strengthen the Lord's body. So in this ruined church we went through the appointed service, and received plenary indulgences (††).

THE HOUSE OF ST. MARTHA, WHERE THE LORD WAS A GUEST.

Going on from hence to the left hand of the aforesaid stone, we came to the ruins of the ancient walls of a solitary house, said to be the house of the blessed Martha, to which she often invited the Lord, as we are told in Luke x. : 'And a certain woman named Martha received Him into her house.' It was in this house that Martha blamed her sister Mary before the Lord, and the Lord gave sentence in Mary's favour, saying : 'But one thing is needful : Mary hath chosen that good part,' and so forth. In this place we kissed the ground and received indulgences (†), having said and sung the prayers appointed in the processional.

THE CHURCH OF THE SEPULCHRE OF ST. LAZARUS,
WHEREIN HE LAY FOR THREE DAYS.

After this we turned ourselves towards the fort of Bethany, and having entered it, we came to a great and fine church, but it was closed. Howbeit, the inhabitants of Bethany opened it to us on being given a few pence by the captains of the galleys, and we went in. On the right-hand side of the church we found the tomb of Lazarus, wherein he lay dead for three days, after which the Lord raised him up again, as is told in John xi. So we halted before the tomb of Lazarus, and went through the service appointed for that place, kissed the sepulchre itself, and received plenary indulgences. We likewise went up from the tomb to the high altar, which stands in the place where the Lord Jesus stood and cried: 'Lazarus, come forth!' This church was once a noble one, built by St. Helena above the tomb of Lazarus, and during the last days of the Christians there was beside it a convent of nuns of the Order of St. Lazarus, under the rule of St. Bene't. Their habit was a white tunic and a black cloak, like the sisters of St. John,¹ with a green cross. In the other Bethany beyond Jordan where John baptized, as we read in John i., there was another monastery like this belonging to the same order, and these nuns were exceeding rich and devout; wherefore this convent was set about with olive-trees, so that it could not be seen by those who came down from the Mount of Olives. Moreover, sisters of this convent used to be sent forth to other parts of the world to build up the like convents. Hence it is that at this present there is one of these convents in the domain of the lords of Kyvchburg near Thurgau, and it is called the convent of the maids of St. Lazarus.

¹ Johannitae.

After the loss of the Holy Land the nuns were scattered, and the convent and town destroyed, all save the church with the sepulchre, which is still standing, and is a raised marble tomb, beneath which is a cave, now blocked up. The Saracens honour this tomb even as we do, for they honour all the places [214 *a*] wherein the Lord wrought any glorious work, but loathe those places wherein He suffered any shameful treatment. This church is desecrated, and its altars are destroyed. When we were in it it was full of sheaves of corn, like a countryman's barn.

THE HOUSE OF SIMON THE LEPER, WHEREIN THE LORD
WAS A GUEST.

Going on from that house, we went up into another ruined church, whose great remnants lie about there. One wall has remained standing, from which one can see that it was once a costly church, and it had a pavement of divers kinds of marble, whereof we found traces. This church was built on the place where stood the house of Simon the leper, which is mentioned by the Evangelists Matthew (chap. xxvi.) and Mark (chap. xiv.).

It was into this house that Jesus came as a guest on the Saturday before Palm Sunday; here Mary Magdalen poured the ointment over His head as He sat at meat; and here His disciples murmured about the waste, as is told in the passages aforesaid, and in John xii.

There is also another house of Simon, but not of this Simon, which¹ stood in Jerusalem. Into this house came Mary Magdalen, when first she was converted, as we read in Luke vii. Of this I have spoken on page 139 *a*. This house, however, was called the house of Simon the leper. Not that he was a leper when he made this supper, but he had before this been a leper, and had been made clean by

¹ *Qui* in Hassler's text, probably *que* in MS.

the Lord, and still kept the name of 'the leper.' So here, after we had said the appointed prayers, we received indulgences (†).

THE FORT OF BETHANY, AND ITS DESCRIPTION.

I have not found out when the fort of Bethany was builded, or by whom it was builded, because no mention of it is made throughout the whole of the Old Testament, unless perchance it be under another name, under which, howbeit, I have not found it unless it were Bathurim, whereof mention has just been made. But all the Evangelists mention Bethany, and not only this one, but also that which is beyond Jordan. I believe that the fort was newly built in the time of Christ. Its ruins show that it was a strong and noble building, but not a large one. At this day it is a well-peopled village, wherein are treacherous Saracens: it adjoins the Mount of Olives on the eastern side thereof, and from it the city of Jerusalem cannot be seen because of the Mount of Olives, which stands in the way; howbeit, on the side of the Mount of Olives, between it and the Mount of the Ascension, there is a view of the valley of Gehenna and the Mount Gihon. Bethany was the castle of Mary, Martha, and Lazarus, as we are told in John xi., and is distant from Jerusalem fifteen furlongs, which make four Italian miles, and one short German mile. This castle is finely spoken of by St. Bernard in his sermon to the Knights Templars, wherein anyone who pleases may find the passage.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM BETHANY TOWARDS THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

So after we had seen the holy places at Bethany we turned towards Jerusalem. We had given our ass-drivers leave to return to Jerusalem by the nearer way, along the

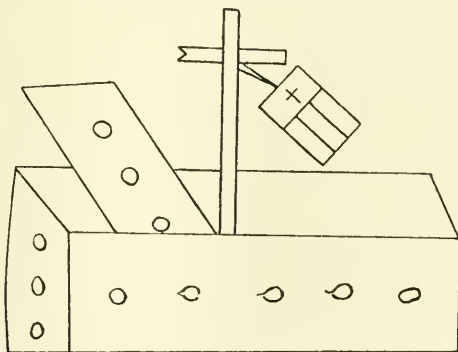
king's highway, by which we had come out, as is told on page 193 *a*. But we meant to return, walking devoutly on foot, along that holy way whereby the Lord Jesus came from Bethany to Jerusalem on Palm Sunday, sitting upon an ass. So the ass-drivers [*b*] went back to Jerusalem down the lower road, and with them went many of the pilgrims, who were in a hurry to get some cooked food and a place to rest in; for never since we left Jerusalem till our return thither had we tasted hot food. Yet the greater part remained in Bethany, and I with them: indeed, it may be that none of them would have remained behind had I not urged them so to do. So when the others departed, we also came out of Bethany, and outside the village, without knowing it, we came upon a Saracen burial-ground, across which or round about it we must needs go: wherefore we crossed it. But, lo! a Saracen woman who was standing a great way off saw us, and running up to us, cried aloud, cursing us, threw stones at us, and drove us out of the burying-ground. So we fled hastily, lest other Saracens should come and annoy us, for they cannot endure that we should walk over the graves of their dead, as is told on page 82, article iii. So we came to the road leading over the Mount of Olives, up which the Lord Jesus went on Palm Sunday. We went in devotion, silence, and prayer, through orchards of fig-trees. We came to one of these orchards wherein we saw large ripe figs of a dark purple hue. Two of our company went into this orchard, but when they had climbed the trees there came an old woman who threw stones at them, cried out at them, and drove them out of the orchard; nevertheless they brought us some of the fruit, whercon we broke our fast, and went forward on our way up the hill. On this road we found scattered about many small pieces of squared and polished marble of divers colours,

and a friar led us out of the modern road to a place where we found a field all paved with polished marble of divers colours. It was St. Helena who adorned with marble pavements all the roads over which she knew that the Lord Jesus passed during Passion Week, from Bethany up to the Mount of Olives, and down the other side thereof up to the Golden Gate. I have many times found traces of this pavement, and more especially when one goes aside from the road in going up: for the modern road has been worn deep by the numbers of those who pass over it, but if anyone going up it turns aside, pulls away the earth above with his hands, and makes a hole, he finds the ancient road paved with polished marble. This I myself learned to be true by experience.

THE RETURN OF THE PILGRIMS TO JERUSALEM THROUGH
BETHPHAGE, THE VILLAGE OF PRIESTS.

From hence we went forward, and came to the place where once stood the village of priests, Bethphage, whereof we read in St. Matthew's Gospel (chap. xxi.). It was from this village that the Lord sent two disciples to Jerusalem to bring Him an ass, and He waited for them there. In this place we sang the hymn, '*Cum appropinquaret Dominus*,' etc., kissed the footprints of our Redeemer, and received indulgences (†). Bethphage is mentioned with praise by St. Bernard in his sermon to the Knights Templars (chap. xii.). From Bethphage the Holy City still cannot be seen, so we went forward, climbed up the ascent of the Mount of Olives, and came to a region up which there is a steep ascent up nine steps, and wherein lies a stone, which is as long as the way up the hill, and as wide as the road itself. [215 a] By the art of the stone-cutter, steps have been hewn out of this stone, up which men and beasts can climb the hill. This stone is divided length-

ways as though it had been cut with a knife, and they say that an ancient tradition of the saints tells that this stone was rent during the Lord's passion for a testimony to all who pass thereby, and for a perpetual memorial (of His death). We kissed these steps because of the miracle and because of the footprints of the Lord, for we cannot doubt that He must often have passed that way. When we had gone higher up from this place, the tops of the towers of the Holy City began to show themselves, but the first tower whose top we beheld was that of the belfry and tower of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, about which see page 132 *a*. This at the present day overtops all the other buildings, and



straightway afterwards we beheld the entire Holy City glittering joyously in the sunlight, at the sight of which we were gladdened and rejoiced in spirit, for this most sweet city hath an exceeding delightful aspect, whereat the mind of the beholder is exhilarated. This I know of a truth, that I never was able to satiate myself with gazing upon the city, for the longer one looks upon it the more sweet it grows to him, and somehow calls out a man's affection towards it. Indeed, the Lord Jesus, when He was going along this road and saw the city, wept over it, being moved to pity by the actual sight thereof, for it is not without cause that Jerusalem is called 'the vision of peace.'

Now, we went down the other side of the Mount of Olives by the road which is described on page 152 *b*, crossed over the brook Cedron, up to the Mount Sion, were joyfully welcomed by the brethren there, and, after a meal, laid ourselves down to rest, forasmuch as we were about to begin fresh labours.

[*b*] THE THIRD ENTRANCE OF THE PILGRIMS INTO THE LORD'S SEPULCHRE, AND THE ABUSES WHICH CUSTOMARILY GO ON THEREIN.

On the same day (to wit, the twenty-first), after noontide was far spent and evening was drawing near, the pilgrims were called to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. When we were in the courtyard outside, the Moorish lords came and put us into the church in exactly the same fashion as is told on page 108 *a*. When we were inside we did as is told on that same page, yet the pilgrims who knew that they would see the holy places no more visited them with greater devotion, and touched them with their jewels, as they had oftentimes done before, in the way which is told of on page 36 *b*. Howbeit, the knights passed that night with less seriousness, and more to divert their attention than on the two former nights, during which they kept vigil at the holy sepulchre. On the first night they were occupied with preparing themselves to take the sacrament of Holy Communion with confession, and up to that time the impression made by the holy places was fresher in their minds, as may be seen on page 119 *b*. On the second night they were anxious about their knighthood, and passed the night in acquiring it, as is told on page 183 *b*. But on this night, as they had nothing especial on their hands, they gave themselves up to idle and vain doings—that is to say, not all of them, but only those who were less zealous than the rest, who, alas! were the greater numbers. Let us

see, then, how those undevout, ungrateful pilgrims, without zeal or discipline, passed their time. Some made a perfunctory tour round the holy places, and then sat them down, ate and drank what was in their scrips, which they had brought in thither stuffed full of food, held long arguments, and presently, being overcome by sleep, sought out lonely places and quiet corners, wherein they slept the whole night long, for six or seven hours, even as though they had been lying in their bedchambers. Others who were sots rather than sluggards had provided themselves with good strong wine, and with food which encouraged thirst, and after they had run hastily round the holy places sat down together, swilling as though that most holy of all churches were a tavern ; and so they continued until the bottles of all their companions were empty.

Others of less foresight, after they had emptied their bottles, sat talking about unprofitable worldly matters, about princes and quarrels, about the campaigns which they had served, and the comparison of warriors one with another, during which evil speaking, disputing, lying, and self-glorification of divers kinds went on openly without any heed being paid to the holiness of the place.

[216*a*] Others, when they had had enough of long arguments and bursts of laughter, walked about in the church, entered into the chapels of the holy places, and after a short pretence at prayer would stand there talking, without any respect for the holy place, about all that had befallen them, and thus they visited the holy places without any profit to themselves. Some years before a certain German knight behaved thus, whom God punished for an example to others ; for while he was swaggering insolently round the church with his fellows he entered with them into the Lord's sepulchre, and, while he stood there, said, with silly rashness, ' Lo, my comrades, let this which I am about to

do be for a sign that in very truth I may not hesitate to declare that I have been in the Lord's sepulchre, and that you may bear me witness in this.' Saying thus he climbed upon the holy tomb, and stretched himself out above it on his back at full length. While he lay laughing there, lo, the hand of the Lord was laid upon him, and struck him with the palsy, so that his body began to grow stiff, and he could in no wise raise himself up. When he felt the hand of the Lord heavy upon him, he humbly and with many tears begged to be carried away; but he never thereafter recovered the free and natural use of his limbs, returned to his home lame and sickly, and died a paralytic! It is a wonder that he did not perish on the spot.

Others spent the whole night bargaining with traders, for to every place to which pilgrims go while they are in the Holy Land they are accompanied by Christian traders of Eastern birth, most cunning and greedy heretics, who never even sleep during the time that the pilgrims are in the Holy Land. Whenever the pilgrims enter into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre these traders come in together with them, carrying their wares. They gain admission by the payment of a great sum of money, and establish themselves straight in front of the door of the church, spread out a cloth upon the pavement, and set out their wares upon it for sale. Some of the pilgrims, seeing that the time for their departure was at hand, stayed awake all that night bargaining, and bought all kinds of things, for the traders had there for sale not only Pater noster beads and precious stones, but also cloth of damask, of camlet, and of silk, and round about these merchants there was much disturbance and noise, even as in a market-place. I saw there some nobly born and illustrious pilgrims, who on their own estates would have thought bargaining with tradesmen, even in a public market, to be a thing un-

becoming to them and beneath their station in life ; yet here in this most holy place they never ceased making bargains, and buying precious stuffs and jewels. Thus they who had left their own country solely for the love of God and for the sake of knighthood were now enticed by greed and the love of gain to become merchants, and pushed their own interests with lies, deceit, perjury, and horrible oaths, such as even those schismatics and heretics with whom they were dealing would shrink from using, for these pilgrims were striving to buy the things cheap, to the end that they might sell them [b] for more money to other men in their own country, even as real merchants do who gain their living by such traffic, or that with these jewels and gems they might purchase the worldly friendship and love of many, or make use of what they bought for their own pride and vainglory. In this traffic they took no heed either of the holy place or of the holy day and Feast of St. Mary Magdalen,¹ now so near at hand. Nor was it only laymen who did this, but certain irreverent monks and clergy took part in these doings. How great a scandal it must be in the eyes of the infidels when they behold these traders sitting and vending their wares in church, and disputing over their profits, is clear from the purity of their own mosques, wherein they will not for anything in the world allow buying and selling to go on, or any talk about the same ; but we have made the house of prayer into a house of trade and the holy church into a den of thieves, and when the infidels see this they hold our faith to be a folly and a thing of naught.

Others transgress no less than those aforesaid, and are a scandal both to believers and unbelievers alike ; for certain

¹ June 23rd, according to the calendar given by Sir Harris Nicolas ('Chronology of History,' 2nd edit., Longman, Green, and Longman, N.D.), is the Feast of Mary of Oignies, recluse.

nobles were led by vanity to write their names, with the symbols of their birth and peerage, on the walls of the church, and painted their coats of arms thereon, or pasted up papers on which these matters were inscribed on the walls of this and other churches. Some of them carved their names with iron chisels and mallets on the pillars and marble slabs, and vexed and scandalized all men thereby. I have seen some vainglorious nobles, whose pride had brought them to such a pitch of folly, that when they went up into the chapel of Mount Calvary and bowed themselves down upon the holy rock, wherein is the socket-hole of the cross, they would pretend to be praying, and within the circle of their arms would secretly scratch with exceeding sharp tools their shields, with the marks—I cannot say of their noble birth—but rather of their silliness, for a perpetual memorial of their folly. But this they were forced to do secretly, for had the guardian of the holy rock, whose name is George, seen them doing so, he would have dragged them away by the hair of their head. The same madness moved some to inscribe their names, shields and armorial bearings with sharp irons on the slab which covers the tomb on the most holy sepulchre of the Lord. Thus they set aside the fear and reverence which they owed to God, that the memory of their madness and vanity might not be destroyed, but might endure for ever, so that they might every day be cursed, both on the Mount Calvary and in the monument before the Lord's sepulchre; for every devout and single-minded pilgrim, when after great expenses and labours, and through a thousand perils, he hath made his way to these holy places, when in the afore-said places he kneels down to pray, and then sees before him this piece of folly, straightway after his prayer curses the fool who has presumed to do this irreverence in these most holy places, and invokes upon him death or the

withering of his hand, or that it may shrink or be cut off ; or he prays to God to avenge His honour upon the man who hath presumed to scratch his own marks of honour upon the rock which stands as a sign of the honour due to Him. Such men as this think that all men admire their arms, and would be pleased to see them ; but this I say, that out of ten thousand pilgrims not one comes thither who has any pleasure in them. If they be foreign pilgrims, who do not recognise his arms, they look on them with loathing, wonder at his presumption, (217 *a*) and pronounce him to be a fool ; albeit they have never seen him. If they are his own countrymen, they abominate the scrawl, look on it with contempt, and scratch it out ; save only his son may perchance come thither, who will be pleased thereat because he has inherited his father's folly. It is only our German nobles who do this folly, as though the world did not contain any noblemen save themselves. How much ridicule they incur by this habit, both among believers and unbelievers, I well know, and to my sorrow and shame I have often had to blush at it both among Christians and pagans. It would take a long time to write down all that I have witnessed. I knew one pilgrim who always had a red stone in his purse, with which he used to write his name in every place, on every wall. This fool sometimes would go up to altars and mark the letters of his name on the slabs of the altar, either with his red stone or with a dagger or bodkin, and he would write his name at the top of the vacant margins of antiphonals, graduals, missals, and psalters, as though he were the author of the book ; whereas he did not understand a single Latin sentence, for he was a mere layman. He took especial pains to inscribe his name and arms in those places above all other, which would be noticed by men passing in and out. But what was the end of this man ? I am

ashamed to say, and am wearied of him, nor do I hold it to be worthy of my book of wanderings to put such things into it ; howbeit, this much I will say, that the friends and kinsmen of the aforesaid pilgrim would have given much gold could they have wiped out his name from the earth, and these very men wished that they never had known the name which he had been at such pains to paint up everywhere. It might be suffered, and is in some sort useful, that noblemen should paint their coats of arms, or write their names in inns and taverns, in halls and courts, on towers, castles, gates and walls, in theatres, market-places, tilting and jousting yards, and other secular places ; but to do so in churches and holy places is wrong, foolish, and criminal. Some take so much pains about doing this, that for it they neglect their prayers and visits to the holy places—nay, even their sleep. Following their example, some simple labouring men take charcoal and write their own unknown names and the names of their rustic calling on the walls. Even some of the clergy and religious were led astray by apish folly into doing this, and befouled the walls with the ink which they had brought with them to write accounts of the holy places withal. I wonder at all these men, that they do not bethink them of the vulgar proverb, which even children cast in one another's teeth, *Narrenhend beschisen den liuten die wend*, 'The hands of fools befoul the sides of the house.' If, therefore, according to the common proverb, they be fools who make marks on the walls of men's houses, much more must they be esteemed to be fools who presume to mark the walls of the house of God and the places sacred to the Lord ; above all, they must be called fools who paint or hang up their shields and coat armour above the paintings of God and the blessed Virgin Mary, of the holy cross, and of the elect saints of God ; for in many instances the arms of noble-

men consist of the figures of certain animals, or hideous faces, or unnatural monsters, or an unmeaning collection of colours and shapes, all of which have come down from the idolaters of old, and the foolish gods of the Gentiles, full of demons. Thus we read that Anubis and Macedo, the two sons of Osiris, who wandered throughout the world doing mischief, bore upon their arms, the first a dog, the second a wolf, which figures they stuck upon the temples built in all lands, to show their contempt for other gods ; even so do our nobles in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, whose [*b*] walls are now in confusion because of the shields which were hung over the paintings ; for all round about the rotunda the walls were of old adorned with mosaics, but knights and nobles have shown no mercy to these images and precious pictures, but have hung their shields over them, and have thereby covered over the paintings of Christ and of the blessed Virgin, and have pierced them with nails. The Lord hath raised up an avenger of this lack of reverence ; for once upon a time the King of Egypt came to Jerusalem to pray in his temple, which is called Solomon's Temple, and after he had finished his prayers, he came up into the Anastasis, that is to say, the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, that he might pray there also. While he was looking around him and admiring the size and beauty of the church, he saw the shields of noblemen fastened to the walls and put on over the mosaic pictures ; and when he learned for what cause they hung there, he was exceeding wroth, and would have levelled the whole of that Church of the Anastasis with the ground, had not God changed his mind. Howbeit he ordered all those shields to be cast down and torn away from the walls, piled them all into a heap, caused fire to be set to it, and burned them. So now there are no shields there, neither are the mosaic paintings perfect, but spoiled and indistinct.

Others went round about the church with iron tools hidden in their clothes, and when they came to the holy places scratched and picked at the sacred stones, chipping and knocking pieces off them to carry home with them for relics. This, albeit it hath a semblance of piety, is nevertheless full of impiety and vicious curiosity: for what reason, save one that hath gone astray, and is blinded by evil, can propose to strip the holy places of their ornaments, and to break off pieces from and spoil works artistically wrought with great labour and expense? Through this silly breaking off pieces of stones we were brought into great peril, not once only, but more than once. Once, after the pilgrims had gone home, we stayed all night in the Church of the Anastasis, and in the morning it was discovered that pieces had been broken off the rock of Calvary, the slab of the sepulchre, and the stone of the Lord's unction. When the other Eastern Christians saw this, they cried out in the church against us, calling us thieves and robbers; a dangerous riot was stirred up against us, and they threatened us that they would complain of us to the Moorish and Saracen lords. Hearing this, the Father Guardian was afraid, thinking that a great danger was hanging over us. He called us all together into the chapel of the blessed Virgin, and by his apostolic authority excommunicated those who had broken the stones, nor would he let them go out of the church until the broken pieces were given up to him. So there we stood in confusion and disgrace, and all men raged against us for the sacrilege which we had done. We also, by this same cause, came into great tribulation at St. Catharine's in Arabia, and in sooth I shudder with fear and horror when I call it to mind, for we were delivered over to the Arabs by the caloyers, until we were forced by bitter necessity to put back what we had fetched away. Men do

not break these pieces off out of devotion, but some avaricious knights, who are patrons of some churches or altars, do this to the end that by these things they may stir up crowds of people to visit their churches, and thereby get gain, and so it is greed which eggs them on to [218 *a*] try to do this in the face of the orders given to pilgrims not to do so, for which see page 89, Articles V. and XVI., and page 110, [*b*] Articles IV. and XII. But the case of those who pick up pebbles at holy places, and pick up relics there without defacing the holy places, is different ; for to do this is holy and pious, as is proved on page 253 *a*. So some of us spent this night in doing what I have described, while others occupied themselves with divine service, and from midnight till bright daylight we celebrated Masses.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM THE LORD'S
SEPULCHRE, AND THEIR MEETING ON THE MOUNT
SION TO CONSULT ABOUT THEIR DEPARTURE FROM
JERUSALEM.

On the twenty-second, which is the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, we sang a Mass of the Lord's resurrection in the Lord's sepulchre, in which Mass solemn mention is made of St. Mary Magdalen. When the Mass was finished, the pilgrims who were about to depart ran from one holy place to another, and kissed them with tears, bidding them farewell with sorrow because of their approaching separation from them. Of a truth, the holy places have a certain power of attraction, whereby at the last the pilgrims were more drawn to them than before, and they flocked together about the Lord's sepulchre, and kept going in and out of it like bees in a beehive. While they were doing so, the Saracens came and turned us out of the church, bidding us all go up to the Mount Sion together, because they wanted to talk there with us about some business. When we went

out of the church we entered into the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen, which is in the courtyard outside the church, and is mentioned on page 122 *a*. Here we begged for her protection, singing the hymn, '*O mundi lampas*,' etc. After this we went up to Mount Sion, and found that the brethren there had just begun the service for St. Mary Magdalen's Day, whereat we remained present until the end, for it was still early, and the dinner-hour was not yet come.

THE SEPARATION OF THE PILGRIMS FOR MOUNT SINAI
FROM THE OTHERS, AND THE MEETING WHICH THEY
HELD.

After the Mass came the Lord Governor of Jerusalem, Naydan, with some Saracen elders, the Lord Sabathytanco, the greater Calinus, that is to say, the head-master of the hospital, the Saracen dragoman, and Elphahallo, the under-Calinus, who is the pilgrims' guide across the desert, and many other potentates. When they were all met together they sat down in the infirmary of the brethren, in a great chamber which the brethren call the Venetian Chamber, and with them sat the Father Guardian and Brother John of Prussia, and other elders of the Minorite brethren, and likewise the most notable men among the pilgrims, such as the Lord John Wernher, Baron von Zimbern, the Lord John the Truchsess, the Lord Bernard von Braitenbach, chamberlain of the cathedral church of Mainz, the Lord Ferdinand von [b] Wernawe, and the Lord Max von Roppolstein. Besides these our two captains were present there as principals, with their counsellors. All these pilgrims were then bidden to appear before this assembly, and when we were all present they told us, by means of an orator, that the pilgrimage to Jerusalem was now at an end, and that nothing further remained to be

done save to depart hence and return to our homes, for which all of us ought now to prepare as quickly as possible. If, however, among the pilgrims there were any who wished to stay behind in Jerusalem and set out from thence for Mount Sinai, they must now declare themselves, and remain in the chamber together with the lords. The others must leave the chamber and prepare to depart, because when dinner was over they would lead them down from Jerusalem to the sea. So all the pilgrims went out of the chamber, save only eighteen, who remained with the lords, and whose names are set down on page 221 [*b*]. We then began to discuss the pilgrimage to Mount Sinai with the lords, a discussion which must needs take place before the departure of the captains of the galleys and our fellow-pilgrims, in the presence of the captains of the galleys, of some learned pilgrims, and of the Father Guardian, because after the departure of their comrades the infidels would over-reach the remaining pilgrims at their own good pleasure, and would extortionately and spitefully wring their money from them ; but when the captains are still present, they proceed more reasonably, because if they asked an unreasonable sum, the pilgrims would go down to the sea with their comrades and would give up the pilgrimage to Mount Sinai. So we drew up a form of contract for our safeguard and safe conduct from Jerusalem in Judaea to Gazara in Palestine, from Gazara through the Arabian desert even to the Mount Sinai, and from Mount Sinai through the land of Midian even unto Egypt, to Matharea, where is the garden of balsam. For the safe conduct of the dragomans of Jerusalem reaches as far as this place and no further, in the following articles, which we made with them, and they with us :

First Article. That the Lord Sabathytanco, the chief Calinus, should vouchsafe to us that he would take measures

for leading us in safety from hence, even unto Egypt through the aforesaid places ; and that he himself, in his own proper person, should bear us company at his own charges and expenses from Jerusalem even unto Gazara. This he gave us his word that he would do.

Second. That with regard to all tolls, taxes, and dues which were to be paid between Jerusalem and Gazara, he himself should pay them for us out of his own money. This also we wrung from him, knowing that otherwise we should be plundered beyond measure by the Saracens on that road.

Third. That he should afford to each pilgrim an ass to ride upon, with men to drive the same (which drivers are called *mucrelti*), and that these our ass-drivers should be Christians, and should bring us and serve us from hence, even to Matharea in Egypt, providing food both for their asses and for themselves, unless perchance the pilgrims of their own freewill should bestow anything upon them.

[219 a] Fourth. That they should be bound to carry all our things, such as clothes and pots, altogether at their own expense, from Jerusalem even unto Gazara aforesaid, save only wine, which we ourselves would take with us at our own charges.

Fifth. That at Gazara he should, at his own charges, provide store of camels to carry all our property to Mount Sinai, and thence to Egypt, to Matharea, and that at Gazara he should put a decent and sufficient sized inn at our disposal.

Sixth. That he should depute one of his friends to bear us company in place of himself from Gaza, even unto Cairo in Egypt. We further begged him to send with us Elphahallo, who is called the lesser Calinus, who, as will be told hereafter, had often journeyed through the desert

with pilgrims, and we bound ourselves to provide him with food from our own store.

Seventh. That he should provide each pilgrim with a waterskin, wherein to carry water through the desert, for often no water is to be found on that road for many days' journey.

Eighth. That he should give us leave to buy wine in Jerusalem from the Eastern Christians, and take care that we might carry it on the backs of camels or asses without being insulted by the Saracens. For unless exceeding great caution be shown in the buying and carrying of wine, the pilgrims will not be safe.

Ninth. That he should lend us three pavilions or small tents, which we might set up at every place in the desert where we rested, to guard us from the heat of the sun.

Tenth. That each one of us should pay the dragoman for our safe conduct, tolls, and each and all the other things aforesaid, the sum of twenty-three ducats, giving him half thereof in Jerusalem, and the remainder at Gazara, after he had there provided us with the camels and other matters aforesaid, according to the agreement and the meaning thereof.

Eleventh. That the whole of this contract should be reduced to writing, signed with the seals of the Lord Governor of Jerusalem and the chief Calinus, and kept in his chancery.

Twelfth, and last. That, as long as we remained in Jerusalem, we should be allowed to visit the holy places, both without and within the city; that they should let us into the Church of the Anastasis whenever we asked them; that when we set out on our journey to Mount Sinai they should lead us to Bethlehem, and let us stay a few days there; and that from Bethlehem they should lead us to

Hebron, to see the place where Adam was formed out of clay, and the double cave.

These were the articles of the contract which we made, and we had many disputes and much trouble before we could be of one mind ; howbeit, we were agreed at last, and the contract was sealed on the same day, before the pilgrims, our brethren, went away ; and we paid two ducats as fees for the sealing.

THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS FROM JERUSALEM,
AND THEIR RETURN HOME.

On the same day, to wit, the feast of St. Mary Magdalen, when it was past mid-day, the Moorish and Saracen lords came with no small host of armed followers, and all the ass-drivers came up with their asses to Mount Sion, to fetch away the pilgrims from thence and take them down to the sea. They came with a brave and strong army, to defend them [b] from ambuscades on their way ; for they knew that ambushes had been prepared for the pilgrims on the way, because it was noised abroad throughout the country that there were many pilgrims in Jerusalem, to attack whom all men delight to conspire and combine together.

Meanwhile, as everyone was running to and fro, and packing up for the journey, my four lords, with whom I left my home, to wit, the Lord John Baron von Zimbern, knight, the Lord Ber von Rechberg, knight, the Lord Heinrich Baron von Stöffel, knight, and the Lord John the Truchsess, knight, sent for me, and added to all their former bounties toward me this, that they gave me no small store of ducats to help me to pay my journey to Mount Sinai, and begged of me that I would pray to God for them when I was in those holy places, and that I would carefully view those places and write an account of them.

I returned thanks to them, and gave to one of them a letter to be taken to the Reverend Master Ludwig Fuchs, at Ulm, to whom I wrote, describing my case as in all ways desirable.

After this, I helped my lords' servants to carry out their things and pack them on their asses. Some of the knights were leaving Jerusalem very sick, so that they could not sit upon asses, and for them camels were brought with great baskets hanging down on either side, in which baskets the sick were carried down to the sea. But one young pilgrim was so sick that he could not be carried either upon an ass or in a basket, and they left him behind them. Directly after they had gone he died, and was buried in the burial-ground of the brethren of Mount Sion. Now, when all were ready and had mounted their asses, and began to leave Jerusalem, many wept because of their love for the holy places, which they were now most unwillingly leaving. Others wept at parting from their companions and brethren, whom they were leaving behind, among whom were my lords and some of their lordships servants, who, when they looked on me, could not refrain themselves from tears, but wept with me. Indeed, it was with great bitterness of heart that I parted from my most kindly lords, forasmuch as they had not been masters to me, but pleasant comrades and brethren. I wept even more for the troubles which I feared they would meet with at sea, than for my own loneliness and the misery which I was about to undergo in crossing the boundless waste of the desert, and the sea in a winter voyage, both of which are ever full of peril; for I remembered the miseries and misfortunes which the pilgrims had suffered on their return in my first pilgrimage, which are told on page 16, and thenceforward even to Venice, and I was terribly afraid lest they also might meet with such misfortunes.

So now in the name of the Lord both the captains of the galleys departed from Jerusalem with their lordships the pilgrims, and with them we sent two of our party to fetch to Jerusalem the things which we had left behind us in the galleys. They arrived at Ramula, which is commonly called Rama, and there they were detained for many days, and grievously tormented ; for in that city dwell the worst of villains, as may be seen on page 85 *b*. These people always annoy pilgrims who are leaving the Holy Land more than newcomers. After those days were over, they went down to Joppa, and while they were going down thither, the Saracens greatly tormented two of the pilgrims, and withal let them lie for several days in the filthy caverns at Joppa, whereof mention has been made on page 75 *a*. In these caverns many of the pilgrims fell sick, both because of the stench of the place, and the want of necessaries, and more especially because of the torments and annoyance which they underwent at the hands of the Saracens and Moorish lads, as has been told on page 77 *b*. Howbeit, on their return they annoyed them more than when they came, so that the pilgrims were wrought up to such a pitch of rage and bitterness against the infidels by the seaside that, when they were going on board ship, they meant to cut the throats of all the Saracens whom they met, both old and young ; but they were obliged to renounce this plan for the sake of us who had remained behind in Jerusalem, for had they so much as killed one man, all of us would have been cast into prison, and perhaps they would have put some of us to death in revenge for the blood which had been spilt. It often happens that when pilgrims are about to leave the infidels, they give one another ill-names, and abuse one another—albeit, they may have been good friends while ashore ; wherefore not many years ago, at the port of Joppa, the pilgrims were angered by the

Saracens, and the Saracens by the pilgrims, till they both ranged themselves in battle array, and fought with one another. In my first pilgrimage, we stayed four days at the port of Joppa, plagued and tormented to the last degree. So now also they plagued the pilgrims, and, as I said before, had they not feared for the safety of those pilgrims who had remained behind at Jerusalem, they would not have gone on board the galleys without bloodshed. Howbeit, the pilgrims embarked peacefully, for the sake of our peace, in great boats, and sailed to the galleys, which even until now had lain unmoved in the places where we had put them at first. Then our people loosed the galleys from their moorings, weighed the anchors, hoisted the ensigns of the galleys, shot stones out of their bombards at the towers of Joppa, and left the port with loud shouts of defiance to the Saracens. When they came to Cyprus, many of them were sick, and some noble knights died there. Thence they went forward from Cyprus to Rhodes, but their voyage was a slow one, so that they suffered much from want of water; wherefore they headed their ship for Natolia, which is the nearest country, in which the Turks bear rule, that they might get water from thence. But when they were come into a harbour, and the Turks heard that they were galleys bringing pilgrims from Jerusalem, they would in no wise give them either bread or water, nor would they grant them a safe conduct to come on shore, but forced them quickly to depart out of their coasts. So they went away sorrowful because of their want of water. God, however, straightway sent them a fair wind, which bore them to the Cyclades Islands, among which they put into Rhodes, and there refreshed themselves, sojourning there many days. When they set sail from Rhodes, and had come on to the high seas, lo! there met them an armed pirate ship, fitted for attacking galleys, and

had not God helped them with a [b] new and exceeding strong wind, they surely would not have escaped from the hands of the pirates; but when the pirates were already close to them, the wind sprang up, and swiftly bore both the galleys back again into the port of Rhodes. On the following day they sailed on their way, and made a prosperous voyage, passing the Eastern provinces—Greece, Achaia, and the rest—till they came even to Parenzo in Istria of Dalmatia. Now, Parenzo is the last port before one comes to the Venetian sea, over which galleys and great ships cannot pass without a particular wind, and when that wind is not blowing, they must needs lie in that port for a long while, until it shall blow. On this account there are always in that harbour boatmen with great boats, and when any men are in a hurry to go to Venice, they hire a boat, and go therein to Venice. Wherefore, seeing that the winds did not blow favourably for sailing in to the Gulf of Venice, the pilgrims hired boats, and set out toward Venice. But, lo! a movement arose in the sea, and their little barks were tossed about by great waves, so that they did not so much as hope to escape death; for while they were in this trouble, the rudder of the bark, in which my lords were, was broken, and they were in exceeding great peril; and the waters, stirred up by the wind, poured over them from all sides. In the other bark, which was alongside of them, the mast broke, and the sail, together with its yard, was blown away, so that these men were in even greater danger, and had altogether given up hope, but were confessing their sins one to another, and making vows, as is the wont of those who are in jeopardy. Howbeit, by the aid of God, who succoured them in their distress, they were saved, and the entire company landed at the port of Venice, wet through, trembling, and miserable. They stayed at Venice for some days, and then left that city on their way

home, and about the Feast of St. Gall they were in their own country. Many died, both nobles and serving-men, but of my lords and their servants not one was missing, save me alone, and I stayed behind in Jerusalem with the consent of my masters; but they and their servants, all in good health, and the same number that set out, came home, and were welcomed with boundless joy and delight by their parents, wives, sons, and friends.

PRAISE BE TO GOD!

Here endeth the pilgrimage which we made together to Jerusalem.

HERE BEGINNETH THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE
HOLY LAND WHICH WAS MADE THROUGH
THE HOLY LAND BY THOSE PILGRIMS
WHO MEANT TO MAKE THE PILGRIMAGE
TO MOUNT SINAI AFTER THE DEPARTURE
OF THE OTHER PILGRIMS FROM JERU-
SALEM AND THE HOLY LAND.

[221 *a*] On the twenty-third, which is the day of St. Apollinaris the martyr, the pilgrims to Mount Sinai met early in the morning on Mount Sion. There they called for the Father Guardian, Brother John of Prussia, and the other elders of the convent, and begged them with many prayers that they would be graciously pleased to assign to them rooms in the convent wherein they could live and be entertained during the time that they were going to stay in Jerusalem. But the fathers raised great difficulties about this matter, and brought forward many reasons for which they could not have them in the convent. When the knights heard this, they tried to win their consent by gold, and they brought forth many ducats, which one of them offered to Brother John, saying: 'Brother, take these pieces of gold, and grant us a lodging, we pray thee, and get food for us; when those coins are spent, we will give you some more.' But not even so could they carry their point, for the fathers refused the gold, and spoke to the knights in these words: 'Lo! my lords the pilgrim knights, we have been taught by long experience that it is better for you to abide without rather than within with us; we, therefore, will help you to hire a lodging. You will then always have the convent at hand for spiritual consolation, and should any one of you fall ill, we will lay him up in our infirmary, and charitably take care of him. Moreover,

that we may not seem altogether to refuse your requests, we receive among us your comrade and fellow-pilgrim, Brother Felix, even as we received him on your first coming hither. He shall stay in the cell which he now hath, and shall rest therein, and eat and drink with us in the refectory for as long as you shall remain here in the Holy City.' On hearing this, the pilgrims forebore to press the request which they had begun, while I returned thanks to the fathers for the kindness they had shown me, and gratefully took up my lodging there as long as I remained in Jerusalem, going in and out with those venerable brethren as though I belonged to their house, without fear and without annoyance from the Saracens. Thus I abode in the convent, excellently well provided for, and at no charges.

Now the rest of the pilgrims hired a lodging in the house of Elphahallo, the under-Calinus, a Saracen. This house stands within the precincts of the Mount Sion and Jerusalem, on the hill as one goeth down to the holy sepulchre. In this house there were three chambers besides a little solar chamber, and in the midst thereof was a hall or court of a fair size, wherein stood vines covered with bunches of grapes, while beneath the house was a great cistern for the ceremonial bathings of the Saracens. Calinus gave up two of these chambers to the pilgrims, and he and his brother kept the third chamber with its furniture. While the pilgrims sojourned in the house these men neither ate nor slept therein, but left it free to the pilgrims, so that they went in and out, slept and ate therein, buying what they wanted, and cooking them at their own pleasure. The pilgrims divided themselves into three companies, that thereby they might be better and more abundantly supplied with necessaries throughout the desert, and that the peace might be better kept between them, which is no easy matter among such a number. Howbeit, the first and the second company always remained

together by themselves, and the third in like manner remained by itself.

In the first company there were six pilgrims—to wit :

Lord John, Count of Solms, who was the youngest of all, but the most noble by birth.

Lord Bernard von Braitenbach, now dean of the (cathedral) church of Mainz.

Lord Philip von Bichen, knight, guardian of the afore-said count.

Erhard, a fellow who was armour-bearer and servant to the count.

John, called Hengi, manciple and expert cook.

John Knuss, interpreter of the Italian tongue.

In the second company there were eight pilgrims, whose names are as follows :

Lord Max, surnamed Sinasinus, Baron von Roppelstein.

Lord Ferdinand, Baron von Mernawe, knight.

Master Caspar von Bulach, knight.

Master George Marx, knight.

Master Nicholas (called Major Inkrut), knight.

Conrade, barber, lute-player, cook, and manciple.

Father Paul Güglinger, priest of the Minorite Order.

Brother Thomas, a lay brother of the same Order, a man skilled in many languages.

In the third company were six pilgrims, whose names are here set down :

Lord Heinrich von Schauenburg (*sic*), knight.

Lord Caspar von Siculi, knight.

Lord Peter von Morspach, knight.

Master Peter Velsch, knight.

Master John Lazineus, archdeacon and canon of the church of Transylvania, in Hungary.

And Brother Felix, of the Order of the Preaching Friars at Ulm, the writer of these wanderings, who brought the aforesaid archdeacon into our company. Indeed, he

would never have essayed this pilgrimage had it not been for his trust in me, for he was a pure-bred Hungarian, and did not understand one word of German, albeit in the Latin, Sclavonian, Italian, and Hungarian languages he was well skilled. He was a man of noble birth, virtuous and learned, a great orator and mathematician, who, as I have said before, kept ever by my side, as will be seen hereafter. In this place, too, I must describe Elphahallo, the under-Calinus, in whose house the pilgrims were sojourning, of whom mention hath often been made before, and will be made hereafter. The hospital and the pilgrims at Jerusalem have two masters, an upper and a lower. The upper is called Sabathytanco and the upper Calinus; while the lower is called Elphahallo, the lower Calinus—that is to say, the master of the hospital and of the pilgrims. Both of these Calini were also called dragomans—that is to say, protectors, conductors, or guardians of the Christian pilgrims. [222 *a*] Indeed, in every city there are some men to whom the Soldan grants the privilege of guiding Christians through the land and defending them from wrong, which men are officers of the Government, having powers granted them by the court of the Lord Soldan, and are called dragomans. In like manner, also, the Jews have their own dragomans or Calini. Now, in places whither many pilgrims often resort there are two Calini, an upper and a lower, as, for example, in Jerusalem and in Cairo. These are subject one to the other, and the lower receives his pay from the upper, while the upper wrings it out of the pilgrims. Now, when these dragomans are good and upright men, all goes well with the pilgrims; but when they are not, it is all over with the pilgrims, as will be shown hereafter. The upper dragoman of Jerusalem, Sabathytanco, was a tall old man, wealthy, and of austere morals, but he was hard upon the pilgrims, ever hurrying them from place to place, and exacted money from them

grievously. Moreover, he did not keep his contracts well, and broke many of his promises, yet he protected us tolerably faithfully, and took pains to succour us when we called upon him for help. The under-Calinus of Jerusalem, Elphahallo, was an old man, I believe more than eighty years of age, a single-minded and upright Saracen, abounding in moral virtue, but of so little knowledge of the truth as to believe that all men may be saved in the faith wherein they are born, provided they keep it pure, while he declared that all those who renounced their faith would be damned, wherefore he damned the Mamelukes, who were of his own faith and apostates from the faith of Christ; and all the Eastern Christians likewise, he said, deserved damnation, because they made themselves like to the pagans and swore fealty to their kings. He was of the same opinion about the Jews who dwelt among them. He had a high opinion of our faith and salvation, but believed that if he were to give up his own faith he could not be saved in ours, and he also believed that no renegade Christian could be saved in his own faith. I often conferred with him on this subject, for he knew the Italian tongue and some bad broken German which he had learned from the pilgrims, with whom he had forty-eight times crossed the desert to Mount Sinai. Yea, he showed such love towards the Christians from beyond seas that he would risk his life with them—nay, more, would put himself in peril of death for their sake, forasmuch as, though he was an old man, and ruptured in the genitals, yet, nevertheless, he crossed the desert with the pilgrims, not with any view to reward, but in order that he might bear them company. He was much troubled to know how after his death pilgrims would be able to be guided through the desert and through those countries. Indeed, I myself also am disquieted about this, and I dread his death, even as I do that of Brother John, of whom I have spoken on page 183 *b*.

This Calinus was once at Vienna, at the court of the Emperor Frederick III., and at Rome at that of Pope Nicholas V. This came to pass in the following manner : One year he guided some knights over the desert, among whom was a puissant German knight, who tenderly loved him, and was often wont to urge him and beg of him that he would come to Germany with him across the sea ; and he would do well by him and keep him safe. But to this the Saracen would in no wise consent. So when they were come to Cairo, where the Calinus is wont to leave his pilgrims and go back again to Jerusalem, this nobleman asked Calinus to come down as far as Alexandria in his company, and there he would let him go. But when they were at Alexandria, the nobleman suborned the captain of the galley on board of which he meant to cross the sea, to tell him alone the day and hour at which the galley would set sail ; wherefore, as the galley was to sail late one night, that evening the nobleman brought Calinus on board the galley with him. He did not know that the ship was about to set sail, and thought that on the morrow he would return to the city. But at the dead of night the vessel was silently let go, and, having a fair wind, made a long run out to sea, so that the Saracen was forced to stay with them and cross the sea. The knight took him both to the Emperor and to the Pope, and told them of the goodness and piety of the man, but he could not be converted from his infidelity, and so he was brought back to Venice, and went home again by sea from thence. Hereafter he has shown himself an even more faithful guardian of all Christians than before, for he brought back with him rich gifts from the Emperor, the Pope, and the nobility, and is wont to tell his own countrymen of the great liberality and glory of the Christians. As I have already said, their lordships the pilgrims dwelt in this honest man's house, to which house I went down almost every day,

going in and out of it as I pleased: and so much for this.

On the twenty-fourth day we pilgrims held a meeting on the Mount Sion to discuss together the pilgrimages which we meant to make in the Holy Land. We held this debate because we in no wise wished to give up to idleness those days which we were to spend in the Holy Land, but to make pilgrimages to this place and to that. We all agreed in this desire, but the devil, not being willing to suffer us to do this, sowed tares, and the pilgrims began to be at variance with one another and to dispute one with another about seeking holy places, and, as a consequence of this, about other matters also. Indeed, owing to their quarrels, they had two kitchen fires in the aforesaid house, two kitchens, two cooks, and separate buying of provisions, all of which could have been done easier and better under one management. Howbeit, the lords of the first and second company clubbed together, and had one fire and one kitchen management. But the lords of the third company, to which I belonged, lived by themselves; and the knight who was named Peter Velsch was himself cook and manciple to the company, and hired two poor German Jews to help him, who went with him to the market-place to buy what we wanted. Now, some of the pilgrims had a great longing to see and visit the holy places in Galilee—to wit, the village of Nazareth, Mount Tabor, the great plain of Esdraelon, the Sea of Galilee, Capernaum, Chorazin, the mount whereon Christ taught, that whereon he fed the people, Damascus, and so forth. But when we took counsel about this matter with the Father Guardian and the chief Calinus, our dragoman, they told us that there were many hindrances to this pilgrimage, and that we should be at exceeding great charges in buying off the ill-treatment of the Saracens, who in those parts are said to be exceeding hostile to Christians, insomuch that pilgrims

seldom dare to go into Galilee. The Father Guardian declared to us that of a truth there would be more dangers in that pilgrimage than in crossing the desert to Mount Sinai. When [223 *a*] some of the pilgrims heard this they withdrew their proposal, and gave up the pilgrimage to Galilee; but others would willingly have gone in spite of the dangers of which we were told; but forasmuch as we were severed into two companies, this pilgrimage was dropped, because one company without the other could not afford so much expense; moreover, they who would not go murmured against they who would, saying that before they came back from Galilee it would be time for us to start on our pilgrimage to Mount Sinai, and then they would have to wait for them, which they would not do. But herein they were mistaken, for they might have gone three times over before we set out from Jerusalem, as will appear hereafter. Thus, owing to the divisions among the pilgrims, many things were left undone which we might easily have done had we been all of one mind. For had we agreed together, for five ducats apiece we might have been taken all through Galilee, and through Galilee even unto Antioch, which was of old called Reblatha,¹ as we read in 2 Kings xxv. 20, 21.

But above all we desired to see Nazareth. It is said nowadays to be a small village, wherein no honour is shown to Christ or to His servants; but of old, in the days of St. Jerome, it was the seat of an honoured archbishopric, over which St. Sylvanus presided, as we are told by Cyril in his letter to Augustine 'On the miracles of St. Jerome.'

On the twenty-fifth day, which is the Feast of St. James the Apostle, before sunrise, the brethren of Mount Sion arose, took all things needful from the sacristy, and went forth from the convent, and I with them, to the church of St. James, to hold services there. An account of this church

¹ Riblah. See Smith's 'Dict. of Bible,' s.v.

is given on page 103 *b*. When we were come to the church, and I had let the brethren go into it, I ran swiftly down to the pilgrims' lodging, knocked at the door with a stone, roused them up to hear the service, and went up again with them to the aforesaid church. There in the chapel of the beheading of St. James we chanted a solemn service, celebrated Mass one after another on that same altar, and went back to our places, wherein we abode for the rest of that day, because it was Saturday, which is always kept holy by the Saracens, even as the Lord's day is by us, and they will not suffer us to roam abroad through the city on the days whereon they are celebrating divine service.

On the twenty-sixth, being the Feast of St. Anne, the mother of the most blessed Virgin, we arose early, went to the church which stands on the place of the house of St. Anne, wherein she bore the mother of God, and begged those who dwelt there to let us in; but they would in no wise do so. So we prayed to St. Anne, and worshipped her daughter without the doors. You have been told about this church on page 140 *a*, and the place will be described on page 229 *a*. We now left that church, went out through St. Stephen's Gate, and went down into the Valley of Jehosaphat, to the end that we might hold divine service in the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. But when we had come to the church it was shut, and we could not get in. So we left that place and went on to the grotto of Christ's prayer and agony, where we decked an altar and held divine service, though it was a thing which had never been seen before, that men of the Latin rite should hold service there. This place is described on page 144 *a*. When our Masses were over we visited the other holy places on [*b*] the Mount of Olives; but when we were come to the Church of the Ascension of our Lord, a Saracen withstood us and would not let us enter the church unless we paid him money. We threatened him that we

would complain of him to the Lord Naydan, the Governor of Jerusalem, but he took no heed of our words, and so we went home to our dinner on Mount Sion.

On the twenty-seventh day, which was the ninth Sunday after Trinity, all the pilgrims came up early to the service of Mass on Mount Sion, which service I myself chanted, for Brother Seraphinus, the canon in charge of the choir for that week, had begged me to chant the service in his stead, and administer the Sacrament to all the brethren who were not in priest's orders. To this I gladly assented, and counted it as an especial grace that I had been thought worthy to chant Mass for the convent in the place where we believe this most Divine Sacrament of the Eucharist was originally instituted, and that I should partake of this same Sacrament with the brethren in the same place wherein Christ first partook thereof with His disciples, eating of His own flesh on that spot, as I have told on page 94 *b*. After dinner we rested.

On the twenty-eighth I went down early with the manciple into the city, to the market-place and the street of the cooks, where I saw a great abundance of things for sale, a vast multitude of people, and many kitchens; for men do not cook in their own houses, as they do in our country, but buy their food cooked from the public cooks, who dress meat exceeding cleanly in open kitchens. There is no woman ever seen near the fire—nay, no woman is so bold as even to enter these kitchens, for the Saracens loathe food cooked by women like poison. Wherefore throughout all the East no woman knows how to bake a cake, but men alone are cooks. In those parts the kitchens must needs be common walls, since, owing to the dryness of the land, wood is dear, and there cannot be a kitchen in each house, as with us, because of the want of wood. After we had seen all this, we went home, and after service we dined.

On the twenty-ninth day every one of the pilgrims

bought himself a bed stuffed with cotton, for us to use both in Jerusalem and in our tents in the desert. I had one made for me also while I was at Jerusalem, and caused it to be carried for me across the desert, across the sea to Venice, and from Venice to Ulm to my own cell, wherein I have laid it up as a relic of my holy pilgrimage.

After dinner the Lord Naydan, the Governor of Jerusalem, the Lord Vaccardinus, and the Lord Sabathytanco, Saracen nobles, rode up to Mount Sion on horseback to refresh themselves; for the air on Mount Sion is always fresher than that in Jerusalem, and therefore the chief men are wont now and then to come up thither to refresh themselves, and to lie down in the church of the brethren, which is always cool. When they come, the brethren lay down carpets on the pavement, with cushions or pillows upon the carpets, and their lordships [224 a] recline thereon, leaning their elbows on the cushions; for in those lands it is not the custom to sit on benches, or upon stools or chairs, but all recline on the ground; and if they be rich and great men, carpets are laid down for them. When they were settled, the brethren brought them a repast in a tin dish, biscuits made with spices, some loaves of their bread, honeycakes,¹ and fruits, grapes, almonds and melons, with cool water to drink, because they drink no wine. Of these their lordships ate with pleasure, while the Minorite brethren and we pilgrims stood round about them and served them, and their Saracen serving-men stood round about us. They asked us many questions through an interpreter, heard our answers with wonder, and seriously discussed what they heard with one another; for they were grave and ancient men, with long beards and of much experience, being the chief rulers of the Holy City, and of a noble presence.

¹ *Lebetum*. Cf. Germ. *Lebkuche* in Grimm's Dict.

Now, on the day before the Father Guardian had sent two of the brethren from Mount Sion to Bethlehem, but a Saracen had fallen upon them on the way, and had beaten them with many blows, even to the shedding of blood. The Father Guardian denounced this Saracen to these lords, who promised him that they would punish him, and would so deal with him that he never would trouble any Christian again. After the complaint of the Father Guardian had been heard, we pilgrims came forward and made our complaint of the Saracen who would not let us into the Church of the Ascension of the Lord, as will be found under the heading of the twenty-seventh day, and besought them to grant us leave to visit the holy places without payment. They answered that we ought not to give anything to him who keeps the door of the Church of the Ascension, and that henceforth he never would demand anything of us. As for freedom to visit the holy places, they said, 'You may go wherever you choose at your own pleasure; but we counsel you, when you are walking abroad, always to have some Saracen with you, that rude boys, whom we cannot hold in check, may not annoy you.' And so passed that day, whereon both at dinner and at supper I committed excesses in eating too greedily of melons, which thing I did to my own hurt.

On the thirtieth I was ill all day, having an exceeding sharp attack of fever, and glowing with excessive heat, on account, I believe, of the melons, which at Jerusalem are very large and very sweet. However, Baptista, the brother in charge of the infirmary, tended me with anxious care, and straightway healed me by causing me to sweat; so that day I did not leave my cell.

On the thirty-first I heard that two of my brother pilgrims were sick, so taking a stick to lean upon, I went down from Mount Sion with great trouble, because of my

weakness, as far as the pilgrims' lodging—albeit, the way up and down is fairly long—and, sick as I was, I visited the sick people there, and stayed with them all day ; but in the evening two knights brought me up, well amused and almost whole again, to my own place to the Mount Sion, where we found the whole convent engaged in their daily round of the holy places ; so I went round with them, as I had been wont to do at other times, and came back with the brethren into the dormitory to my own cell. The brethren of Mount Sion have this praiseworthy and holy custom, that every night, after compline has been sung and finished, they visit the holy places to obtain indulgences, in the following manner. First of all they go to the high altar, at the place where the Eucharist was instituted, and there prostrate themselves, kiss the place, and receive indulgences. Thence they go on to the place of the washing of feet, and after this they go round above the cloister to the place where the Holy Spirit was sent down, from whence they come down to the chapel of St. Thomas the Apostle, pass round the cloister, and enter the chapel of St. Francis, close to the gate and column of the Lord. Here they kiss the gate, go out of the cloister to the place where stood the oratory of the blessed Virgin Mary, thence on to the place where Christ preached, and there turn themselves to the sepulchres of David and the other kings. From here they proceed to the Lord's kitchen, and from it to the sepulchre of St. Stephen, from whence they go round about and descend into the cave of David's penitence. From this cave they go on to the corner of Mount Sion, turn themselves eastward on their bended knees toward the Mount of Olives, worship all its holy places in one brief prayer, and then cast their eyes into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and pray, looking towards the Church of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, that

by her merits and intercession we may hereafter cheerfully meet our Judge on that spot. After this, still on the same spot, they turn themselves towards the North and the holy city of Jerusalem, pray, looking towards the holy temple of Solomon, and take in all the holy places of the Holy City in one glance. Having done this, they turn themselves from the North more toward the West, toward the Church of our Lord's Holy Sepulchre, the Church of the Anastasis, whereof, nevertheless, they can see nought save the highest part of the belfry or tower of the aforesaid church, seeing that the Mount Sion stands in the way, and looking thither they pray with great devotion. After this they rise up, pray when they come before the house of Annas, the high priest, go on from thence to the house of Caiaphas, offer prayer there, turn their faces towards the monastery, and come to the place of the separation of the Apostles. From thence they go on to the chapel of St. John, wherein he was wont to celebrate Mass, and daily administered the Sacrament to the blessed Virgin Mary. From that chapel they pass on to the house of the blessed Virgin, wherein she ended her days. From hence they go to the place where St. Matthias was chosen an apostle, where St. James was chosen a bishop, and where seven good men were chosen deacons, and thence they pass on to the cemetery of their brethren who are buried there, whom they address and pray for them. When they have done this, they go in again through the convent gate, and each man silently betakes himself to his cell to rest. In this fashion I went round with them every day while I was sojourning with them.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER, CONTAINING THE
DOINGS OF THE PILGRIMS THROUGHOUT
THE MONTH OF AUGUST, WITH A DE-
SCRIPTION OF DIVERS PLACES IN THE
HOLY LAND, TO WHICH THEY WENT, AND
WHEREIN ARE CONTAINED MANY OTHER
PROFITABLE MATTERS.

[225 *a*] The month of August, on its first day, brought us a two-fold holiday : first, that of Peter the Apostle being loosed from his bonds ; and secondly that of Mahomet, the prince of demons, in whose chains nearly all the world is bound. The first is known to us, the second is unknown to us, but of great solemnity to the Saracens, who on this day keep the feast of the lawgiving of Mahomet, because thereon the most unrighteous law of Mahomet was brought forth and publicly given to the people, and the Alcoran, a sea of errors which has overflowed almost the whole world, was published abroad. This execrable and profane law derives its authority from a tincture of both the Old and the New Testaments, and hath within itself some truths, mixed with matter utterly absurd, and, as is the way of all heretics, contains poison hidden in honey.

This was the first day of August, and also a Friday, which is kept holy by the Saracens throughout the year, not, indeed, because it is the sixth day of the week, but because it is the day of Venus : for Mahomet always revered the unchaste Venus, and therefore appointed her day to be kept holy for ever, even as we keep holiday on

the Lord's day, and the Jews on their Sabbath, though for a very different reason. Wherefore on this day we did not dare to show ourselves out of doors, but kept out of sight in our own places, even as on Good Friday Jews are shut up by themselves, and are not suffered to go about the streets. On account of this accursed feast of Mahomet we were not able to keep the feast of St. Peter's chains properly, for my companions, the pilgrims, did not dare to go up from their lodging to Mount Sion to hear Mass, but we were unwillingly forced to pass that day in quiet without hearing Mass. For the infidels hold that whenever they keep a holiday or a fast day, or abstain from meat, or keep any day holy, whether for mourning or for joy, they will force all strangers and pilgrims to do likewise. So also do they in the matter of wine : since they do not use it themselves, they will not endure that pilgrims should drink it in their country, save in secret, when they are not looking on.

[*b*] On the second day, which is that of St. Stephen, Pope and Martyr, after hearing Divine service, we took some food and met at Mount Sion, with the intention of going round the whole city of Jerusalem on the outside to see its defences, or rather the ruins of its defences, notwithstanding the exceeding great heat and the burning rays of the sun, for we could not do this save in the heat of the sun, at which time the Saracens stay in the shade. In the early morning, and in the evening, when the sun is less hot, they go into their gardens and walk about outside the gates, and they would not then have suffered us to make the circuit of the city ; wherefore we chose their hour of rest wherein to do this. We began our circuit as follows : First, we crossed over as far as the tower of David on the west side, and from thence went to the Fish Gate, or Merchants' Gate, which is at the western corner, where the west wall joins the south wall. From this corner we went on to the

Fuller's Field, wherein at this present there stands a grove of trees, a mosque, and a Saracen burial-place, even as there was in the time of St. Jerome, as we read in his book 'On the distances of places.' In the Fuller's Field we turned towards the north, keeping the ditch of the Holy City on our right hands, and walking northward along the edge thereof. This ditch was once deep and wide; the city-wall is built upon a rock, and houses have been built upon the wall itself, looking down into the ditch. Beneath the rock itself we saw great caves, through which there is a way leading almost into the midst of the city underground. Had we had the light of a torch we would have gone into this cave, and we were sorry that we had not brought one. Josephus, in the eighth chapter of the sixth book of his 'Jewish War,' calls these 'The King's Caves'; but why they are so called I have never read. But I suppose that there may have been some way into them within the city which was known to the king alone, through which he might go in and out of the city without any man's knowledge; or perhaps there was a way into them from the king's palace.

Going forward from hence we went along a good way by the edge of the ditch, as far as the northern corner, where the west wall joins the north wall. In front of this corner there is a swelling or rising ground, whereon are the ruins of walls; and here once stood an exceeding lofty tower, which was called Phaselus, or Psaeftinas Hippius, from which there was a view to both seas, to wit, that on the eastern side, which is the Dead Sea, and that on the western side, which is our sea, the Great or Mediterranean Sea. This we read in the eighth chapter of the sixth book of Josephus's 'Jewish War'; yet I have oft-times wondered how [this could be, seeing that to the westward the mountains overhang the Holy City.

From this corner we turned eastwards, and went on

along the edge of the ditch. Here we saw a great part of the ancient walls, for the wall was two-fold, in such sort that there were passages within the wall, in the midst thereof, both above and below ; and the rocks, on which the wall was founded, were artificially squared in many places, above which places towers had stood. Indeed, the city was well fenced on this side, because there it can be more easily attacked than elsewhere, [226 *a*] wherefore it was here that Saladin, King of Egypt, took the city from the Christians in 1187, the last year of their rule. Going on further we came to the Gate of Ephraim, or of St. Stephen, which is at the eastern corner, where the north wall joins the east wall. This east wall has no ditch in front of it but the Valley of Jehoshaphat, along the edge of which it is raised aloft ; and albeit there is a little path leading along by the side of the wall, above the valley, from the eastern corner of the wall to the southern corner thereof, yet we did not dare to continue our circuit along that path because of the Saracens' burying-ground, which lies in front of the Golden Gate, and which we might not cross without exposing ourselves to great peril, as may be seen on page 82 *a* and 141 *b*. So we left this path and went down from the corner, down the steep slope into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, even to the brook Cedron, along which we went, having the Mounts of the temple and city on one side and the Mount of Olives on the other side, till we came to the foot of the Mount Sion in the valley of Siloam. Here we turned to the westward, and went up through the valley which divides the Mount Sion from Mounts Aceldama and Gihon, even to the Fuller's Field, where we began our circuit, and entered the Holy City through the Fish Gate. I went with my lords the pilgrims into their lodging, and we refreshed ourselves there, for we were hot, tired and exceeding weary. So passed this day. Whosoever would have a view of the

size and the defences of Jerusalem in the days of old, let him read Josephus's 'Jewish War,' Book VI., ch. viii. Yet lest I be thought to avoid saying anything clear about the size of this most Holy City, be it known that it is by no means so large as the common vulgar believe it to be, who think that it must be as great in circuit as is the fame of its name and virtues. Very excellent things have been said of thee, thou city of God, and are now said, and shall be said as long as the world endureth. This city is, and ever hath been, less than the greatest cities, but greater than the middle-sized ones, and is spoken of even by the Gentiles: for Hecataeus, a philosopher of Abdera, saith, 'Jerusalem is an exceeding strong city, having a circuit of some fifty stadia, and is inhabited by more than one hundred and twenty thousand people,' and he goes on to say more about her, as we read in Eusebius's *Præparatio Evangelica*, Book VIII., ch. ii., iii.

Another philosopher, Timochares, who wrote a history of Antioch, tells us that 'Jerusalem measures forty stadia round about, and is fenced on all sides by exceeding steep valleys; it is watered by many springs, which burst forth within it; albeit, there are no living waters for a circuit of forty stadia round about the same.' And he saith much more, as may be read in the aforesaid work of Eusebius, Book X., ch. iv.

Now, Josephus, who was a Jew and a distinguished writer of history, tells us in the fifth chapter of the aforementioned book of his history that 'the entire extent of the city of Jerusalem was contained within a circuit of thirty-three stadia,' and he tells us many excellent things about her in the aforesaid chapter. I am the more inclined to believe his words, because he was a citizen and a captain of the people of the Jews in Jerusalem at the time of its destruction by Titus.

From all these authorities it is clear that Jerusalem, before the extension made by the Emperor, Aelius Hadrian, was a greater city than Ulm (which is one of the middle-sized cities) is at the present day. Indeed, I myself have often measured Ulm, and it hath in circuit twenty-five stadia and seventy-five long paces, which make half a stadium. Thus ancient Jerusalem was greater than Ulm by eight stadia.

Now, many years after the time of Josephus, the Emperor Aelius rebuilt Jerusalem, which had been laid waste, and enclosed the place of Calvary and of the Lord's sepulchre within the walls, thus enlarging it by so much, and it was according to this enlarged plan that the aforementioned two philosophers made their measurements of its boundaries. Or if they wrote before the enlargement, they included the Mount Sion, which Josephus does not include in his measurement ; for by taking in the Mount Sion, together with the Mount Calvary and Golgotha, a great circle is formed, measuring no less in its circuit than Augsburg, a city of Suabia, which is reckoned among the great cities of Germany. Yet when one looks at the city of Jerusalem from the Mount of Olives it does not seem so great, because it stands on an uneven site, not on a flat one, and hath within it many spaces which cannot be seen. For the Mount Sion by itself would contain a city of no small size, were it all built over, as the ruins upon it prove that it once was. For the description of this city see hereafter, page 255 *b*.

[*b*] THE FOURTH ENTRY OF THE PILGRIMS INTO THE
LORD'S SEPULCHRE.

On the third day, which is that of the Invention of St. Stephen, and which was the tenth Sunday after Trinity, on the evening of the previous Saturday, we begged their

lordships the Saracen rulers of the Holy City to be so good as to let us into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. To this they agreed, provided that we would pay the usual tax of five ducats for each person. But we entreated them that they would deal more mercifully with us, and abate this extreme severity, seeing that we were now few in number, because we meant often to enter in thither before our departure, and if they would not abate somewhat of the accustomed tax we should not be able to enter it either now or at any future time. So after long pleadings and disputes we overcame them by our importunity, and we agreed that whensoever we would enter the Church of the Holy Sepulchre we should each time pay only the tax of one single person—that is to say, five ducats. This satisfied us. So when we were met together in the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Moorish lords came with the keys and unlocked the doors, and we went in and spent that night watching round about the holy sepulchre after the manner described on page 110 *a*. When morning dawned we sang Mass in the Chapel of the Blessed Virgin, which is described on the aforesaid page, and we said private Masses as long as we pleased undisturbed. When all this was over the Saracens came, opened the doors, and cast us out. We now all went together to the holy Mount Sion, and caused a Mass to be said at the place where the body of St. Stephen was found buried, about which place see page 100 *b*. When divine service was over we agreed that after dinner we would visit some places within the Holy City to which we had not hitherto been.

After dinner we met upon Mount Sion, took with us Elphahallo, the sub-Calinus, and entered Jerusalem by the Dung Gate or Gate of the Dunghill, whereof mention is often made in Scripture, more especially in Nchemiah, ch. ii.

It was called the Dung Gate of old, and is so called at this day, because all dirt and dung is carried out through it and cast down toward the valley, wherefore out of the mass of rubbish thrown there a heap has grown up like a little hill, [227 a] so high that it overlooks the city wall at that place. When we had passed through it we came to the sheep market, from thence we went into a narrow street wherein dwelt many Nubian Christians, and we knocked at the door of their church. When the door was opened we went in and said a prayer there. This church was pretty large, but dark ; and, indeed, all the Eastern churches are dark and gloomy. This church stands upon the place where once stood the house of Mary, the mother of John, whose surname was Mark, at whose door Peter knocked when he was brought out of prison by the angel, whereof the sweet story may be read in the twelfth chapter of the Acts. Going on a little way from this place we came to another house of Eastern Christians, and when we were let in they showed us a cistern in the courtyard of the house, saying that it was here that Christ appeared to St. Thomas the Apostle ; for while he was about to draw out some water, and was standing on one side of the cistern, the Lord Jesus stood on the other, and commanded him that he should go to India. This is said by the Eastern Christians to have come to pass here ; but the Lombardic 'Legend' declares that it took place at Caesarea, as also do other books of our Church. Thence we went to another house, where also there was a church, wherein the Eastern Christians say that the holy Apostles, James and John, were born ; for it is said that their father, Zebedee, dwelt there with his wife, but, falling into poverty, they departed thence into Galilee, and gained their living by fishing beside the sea of Galilee. For this cause we are told in John xix. that 'that disciple was known to the high priest.' Near

this house there stood a Saracen mosque, with the door open, and as we saw no Saracens we entered into it, but saw therein nothing beautiful, nothing religious, nothing desirable, only an empty building, vaulted, round, with white-washed walls, lamps hanging from the painted roof, and a pavement covered with mats, whereon they go through their genuflections and posturings when they say their prayers. After seeing this we went out again. These places aforementioned are near the Temple of the Lord, which they call Solomon's Temple.

After this we went toward the temple, and in the courtyard thereof we saw many Saracens standing with pails, pots, and pitchers to draw water, which there bursts forth abundantly from a water-pipe, whereat I did greatly wonder, for I had always read and heard that the Holy City was without living water ; but afterwards I learned by experience that this water springs up far away from the Holy City, and is brought into Jerusalem by underground channels and aqueducts, whereof I shall speak in their place, page 249 *a, b*. From this place we went up towards the temple to a street covered with a vaulted roof, through which we went to the great gate leading into the court of the temple. In [*ḡ*] this street were many shops and doors for merchants on either side. When they saw us hurrying along towards the gate of the temple, many people ran up to us to keep us from entering thither. We told them by signs that we would not go in, but would only pray to God without the gate, and so they suffered us to go to the gate, where we prayed on our bended knees, looking toward the Temple of the Lord ; but even this was annoying to the Saracens, and they cried out at us. The gate of the courtyard itself was a great one, made of exceeding heavy bars of iron. They say that this iron gate is that spoken of in Acts xii. 10, through which the angel led out Peter into

the street, because Peter's prison was within it. Thence we came back again along the street, and, fetching a compass, came to another vaulted street, through which likewise there is a way into the temple, and in which likewise there were merchants sitting in shops. We entered this, and went up it even to the gate of the temple, taking no heed of the cries and murmurs of the Saracens ; neither did we give ear to the commands of Calinus, our guide, who kept doing all that he could to keep us from looking at the temple, for the Saracens were plaguing him for suffering us to come so near to the temple. This gate they say is the ' Beautiful Gate ' of the temple, beneath which Peter healed the lame man, when he and John went up to the temple to pray at the ninth hour, and he said, ' Silver and gold have I none,' as is told in Acts iii.

Leaving this place, we went on further through the streets of houses which stand round about the temple, and came to another part of the courtyard, where, beside the wall of the courtyard, a very costly new mosque was being built as an oratory for his lordship the Soldan, wherein he might pray whensoever he was in Jerusalem. So we went up to the place, and would have gone up to where the workmen were to see it, but we were told that no man dared to go up to the workmen without leave from Thadi, the bishop of the Saracens' temple. So we entered the house of Thadi, which was hard by, to ask him for leave. The house of this bishop was spacious and lofty, with a vaulted roof, decorated with polished marble, and adorned with carpets, like a church save that it had no altars ; and I now believe that it was a Saracen mosque, into which, however, men of all creeds are admitted, because of the bishop, who has his lodging adjoining it, and his household ; for I saw women and boys looking at us through an opening in the roof. Now, the bishop came out to us, and

he was a grave and ancient man, reverend and bearded. When he understood what we wished, he consented straightway, and caused us to be taken into the mosque, bidding one of his friends to accompany us. We went up into the mosque, and found many artificers and labourers there, making wondrous thin panelling out of polished marble of divers colours, and adorning both the pavement and the walls [228 *a*] with pictures. Moreover, the upper part was glowing with gold and costly colours, and the windows, which were glazed, lighted the building most excellently well. In that wall which rises from the courtyard of the temple there were great and tall windows, not as yet glazed, but open, through which we saw the court of the temple and the temple itself, and beheld the marvellous costly work at that place, which will be described in the account of the temple, on page 260 and before. When we had seen these things, we gave the artificers drink-money and came out again. I do not believe that after us any Christian will ever go into that mosque, because they will presently dedicate it by their own accursed rites to the detestable Mahomet, and, when that has been done, they will let no Christian go in. So we went home to our own places.

On the fourth day, after dinner, we went down the Mount Sion together, led in a half-secret fashion by a Jew, who said that he would show us some things which were hidden. As we were going down, we came to the south side of the church, which stands near the Temple of the Lord, where, in the days of the Christians, there used to be a way up some stone steps to a high door, through which one entered that church. We climbed up to this door over the ruins of the walls, and kissed the wall in which the door is, for the sake of the plenary indulgences which are to be gained there (††). It is said that there were fifteen steps leading

up to that wall, up which the Virgin Mary and her Child thrice a year miraculously ascended into the temple without a guide. It was upon these steps that David wrote fifteen psalms, which are called 'the psalms of degrees.' We visited this place with fear and in silence, for, had the Saracens seen us, we should have been in danger, which was why we chose the time when they take their rest. From that place we went further down, and came to an exceeding ancient wall, enormously strong, built of huge squared rocks, and this wall is tolerably high, albeit it once was much higher, as may be seen from the ruins, for the place is full of squared stones scattered round about. It is said that upon this wall stood the house of the forest of Lebanon, which was the king's house, built by Solomon, whereof we read in 1 Kings vii., where he saith, 'Glory,' etc. This house was called the house of the forest of Lebanon, because its upper part was built of timber which was hewn from the forest of Lebanon. The author of the *Speculum Historiale* says that this house was built of twofold material; the lower part was of stone, and was called Nethota, that is to say, the place of perfumes, wherein the spices and pigments for the use of the temple and of the king's house were stored up, that by reason of the (cool) earth and the (thick) wall they might long keep their freshness. The upper part was of wood, of the timber from Lebanon, wherefore it was called the house of the forest, the house of Lebanon, or the house of the forest of Lebanon. Some, however, think that it was so called because it was planted round about on every side with trees and [b] groves for pleasure, which grew as thick as the forest of Lebanon. In the upper part arms were stored, that, by reason of the wood, they might not grow rusty; and not only arms for fighting, but for show and display of royal state.

Albeit, in 1 Kings vii. 1, 2, a distinction is drawn between the 'king's house' and the 'house of the forest of Lebanon,' nevertheless some commentators say that they were one and the same, and this I myself believe. That this king's house was in this place seems to agree fairly well with Holy Scripture, which often says that the kings of Jerusalem went up into the temple from the king's house. It is clear from Jeremiah¹ . . . that this cannot be taken to mean the king's house and palace on Mount Sion, wherein David and Solomon dwelt before the building of the temple, because the Mount Sion is higher than the temple, and one goes downwards from it to the place of the temple; albeit, from the courtyard one always went up steps into the temple itself. But from the house of which we are now speaking there is a considerable ascent into the temple. So here we stood still awhile, and wondered at this huge wall, and talked to one another about these matters.

On the very top of this broken wall there is a great squared stone, moved aside out of its regular course, so that it stands forth strangely at the corner of the wall. Because this stone is now the highest in the wall, and juts out strangely from it, men have fabled it to be the stone mentioned in Ps. cxviii. 22, and in Matt. xxi. 42, 'The stone which the builders rejected is become the head of the corner.' Nicholas de Lyra says that when the temple was being builded a certain stone was many times offered to the hands of the builders, and could nowhere be put into a fitting place, wherefore it was rejected; but when one wall had to be joined to the other by a corner-stone at the head of both, no stone could be found more fitting for the purpose than that rejected one. The same tale is

¹ No reference is given in the text. Probably the passage alluded to is Jer. xxii. 1: 'Thus saith the Lord: Go down to the house of the King of Judah,' etc.

told of a beam of the wood of the holy cross, which also was rejected when a house was being builded.

But it seems to me that this stone, albeit the corner-stone, yet is not the head of the corner, because it is plain that the wall was once much higher.

When we had viewed this wall from the outside, guided by the Jew, we climbed up over the ruins to the wall itself, and there is one of the great square blocks which has been torn by vast force out of the wall, so that there is a hole through the wall into Nethotam. So we bent ourselves down and went in, one after another, and at first we could see nothing whatsoever, because it is the nature of the eyes that those who go into the shade out of the sunlight can see nothing ; but after we had stood still there for awhile, we got back our sight by degrees, and beheld great vaulted buildings. There were here seven rows of columns, supporting the vaults and upper buildings, which were built above them in the days of old, though at this day there stands an olive grove above it at the side of the temple. The Jews and Saracens say that these underground chambers were the stables of Solomon's horses ; but it is better to say that here was Nethota, that is to say, the spice-house and store-house of perfumes, as is set forth above ; [229 *a*] for here he laid up those most precious spices which were brought by the Queen of Sheba, whereof we read in 1 Kings x. 10. Nor is it to be believed that Solomon kept beasts in that most noble house, whereat the Sibyl of Sheba wondered, especially seeing that it was near the temple, whereunto the stalling of horses would have been irreverent ; but he caused cities to be built elsewhere for his chariots, his horses, and his horsemen, as we read in 1 Kings ix. 19.

Now, beneath these vaults there were many heaps of stones piled high up, whereof the Jew who brought us

into that place told us that the Jews pile up these stones to occupy a place beforehand, for they hope that ere long they will again inhabit the Holy Land ; and therefore their pilgrims, who come from far countries, take places beforehand, in which places they hope that they shall dwell after the return. Above in the vault there is one place where a great hole is broken through, through which the Saracens cast down all the sweepings of the temple and courtyard. We were in great fear there, for had the Saracens found us there, they would indeed have treated us ill. Had we not been afraid, we might have climbed up over the rubbish into the courtyard of the temple. So when we had seen all the aforesaid sights, we went out through the hole by which we had come in, went round the Mount Moriah, which is the mount of the temple, and up the hill to the wall of the Holy City, as far as the corner where the east wall joins the south wall. In this wall I saw bigger and longer stones than I have ever seen in any city wall, yet they were not such noble blocks as Josephus tells (Book VI., ch. viii.) us there were in the wall of Jerusalem, which were twenty cubits in length and ten in width. This wall looks towards the Valley of Jehoshaphat and the brook Cedron, over against the Mount of Olives. Now, there is built into this wall, at a height of six cubits from the ground, a stone, which seems to have been part of a marble column. It is partly contained within the wall, and partly juts out from it, in such sort that a man who was at that height could stand upon the stone, with his back against the wall, or could sit upon it even as a man sits upon a horse, with his legs hanging down. The Saracens have a fable about this stone, that, on the day of Judgment, when all men are gathered together in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, Mahomet will come and take his seat upon that stone to judge the world. So they honour that stone as the judgment-seat

of Mahomet. Not many years have passed since a certain false prophet of the Saracens came to Jerusalem, whom all the people honoured as one of the saints of God. One day he called together all the people of the city to this place, saying that he would make signs to them, and speak to them, showing them the manner of the judgment of the world, according to which Mahomet will deal with the Saracens in the last judgment. When all were standing on the hill-side, to see and hear the form of the judgment, this child of the devil climbed up to the stone by a ladder, and sat down thereupon, having his back towards the wall, and his face towards the people who stood below, and he began to prophesy to them. But as he was speaking, he began to move about more and more, and as he did not notice the slipperiness of the stone, lo! of a sudden, he leaned over to one side, fell down below, and perished, with his neck broken, and his whole body dashed to pieces; whereat the silly people were confounded, and went back into the city, every man to his own home. Thus did that false prophet, [b] contrary to his intention, show them the truth, not by words, but by deeds. Herein the Saracens agree with us, that they believe that there will be a judgment on the last day, but as to the place of the judgment, they are all at variance, for the Saracens who dwell in Jerusalem, Judaea, and Palestine say, even as we do, that all nations shall be gathered together into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and they place therein three judges, to wit, God, Christ, and Mahomet. God will sit on the pinnacle of the Temple of the Lord, Jesus on the top of the Mount of Olives, and Mahomet, who will be counsellor to them both, will sit upon the aforesaid stone. But the Saracens who dwell in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Cappadocia say that the judgment will be at Damascus, on the tops of the towers there. The Saracen Arabs say that it will be at Mecca, where is

the sepulchre of Mahomet. The Saracens of Egypt and Libya say that it will be at Cairo. Others say Constantinople. Thus each man invents that which pleases himself, and they make up endless foolery.

We stood beneath the aforesaid stone, and took our fill of laughter, both at the madness of Mahomet, and at the fall of his prophet, and then we went down from the wall, and came into the city¹ of the Jews, which is on the slope of the hill above the Valley of Jehoshaphat; and here we mocked at the Jew who was our guide, and told him that the Jews were wise in having placed their city in the place of judgment, that they might rise without the trouble of journeying thither to be eternally damned. From this burying-ground we went down to the highroad, up which we went to the Mount Sion to our own places. When we entered the lodging of their lordships the pilgrims, the lords knights invited me and two of the Minorite fathers, two Jews, one Saracen and one Mameluke, to sup with them, and we supped merrily together—albeit we were of different faiths and customs. It is because of this converse with the infidels that a man is obliged to get leave from our lord the Pope when he wishes to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

On the fifth day, which is the glorious Feast of our father St. Dominic, the patriarch of the Preaching Friars, after divine service and dinner were over, Sabathytanco, the chief Calinus, came and exacted from each pilgrim five ducats, in part payment of the sum contracted for, saying that he had not enough money in hand to begin to make preparations for taking us across the desert. So, lest he should thereafter say that we had been the cause of a long delay, we gave him the money, every man five ducats. When he had got this gold, he became more

¹ *Civitas*. The cemetery seems to be meant.

cheerful, and promised us that he would grant whatever request we might make of him, provided that he were able so to do. We therefore asked him to cause us to be brought into the birthplace of the blessed Virgin Mary, in which we had not hitherto been. He replied: 'O my lords pilgrims, this is a hard matter for which you have asked, because you cannot enter into the chamber of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, save through a mosque consecrated to the use of the Saracens, into which it is not lawful for you to enter. Were the Saracens looking on, I should not dare to lead you in thither on any terms, wherefore you must wait till evening, when I will send my son Abre to you, who will lead you by secret paths to the place, and I will arrange that you shall be let in. Meanwhile, I myself will be with their lordships the governors, watching for an opportunity to keep them back, that they may not see you visiting the place for which you are intending.' Saying this, the man left us. [230 a] When evening was come, we waited almost until sunset, thinking that the man had made sport of us; but, lo! his son Abre, about nineteen years old, came to us on Mount Sion, with one servant with him, and led us through secret lanes in Jerusalem to the gate of Ephraim, which is the gate of St. Stephen, and we came to the church, which now is a Mameria.¹ When this was unlocked, we entered the mosque, and went from the church into the cloister. Now, at the side of the church there is a window above the ground, like the windows of the chambers wherein weavers work, or like the windows of cellars, through which light and air comes into them. Through this window is the way into the birthplace of the blessed Virgin, for the infidels have blocked up the door of the crypt which used to be in the church, because they care nothing about this

¹ Mahumeria. See Tobler's notes to 'John of Würzburg,' p. 429.

place. So one of the pilgrims first put his feet through this window, and then let himself drop into the crypt, after which he stood beneath the window, and served as a ladder for each of the others; for he held his hands up against the wall, and he who wished to come down first put his feet upon this man's hands, and then set one of his feet upon his head or shoulders, and from his shoulders jumped down to the ground. Thus we all went down into the place over that pilgrim, who was a knight of a noble family, and, lighting candles, as the place was dark, we began to go round it. We came to a cave, wherein they say that Joachim and Anna, the parents of the blessed Virgin, were first buried. From thence we went on into another larger underground chapel, which once was beautifully painted, and where it is believed that the blessed Virgin was born. Here we began with cheerful voices to sing the hymns for the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, which are appointed in the processional of the Holy Land; we received plenary indulgences († †), and kissed the earth after the manner of pilgrims. This holy place stands beneath the choir of the church, and in it was the couch whereon Anna bore the blessed Virgin Mary, even as the place of Christ's birth is beneath the choir of the church at Bethlehem, as a confirmation of that most lying Alcoran, which declares the Virgin Mary to have been born in Egypt, and to have been the daughter of Miriam, the sister of Aaron, as is told above on page 140 *b*. So when we had seen the place, one of the pilgrims, again helped by the others, got up through the window into the cloister, and he stretched his hands down, and pulled each of us up to him, one after another. We went round about the cloister, and saw the cells there, both above and below, which are finely wrought, for this in the time of the Christians was a convent of nuns of the order of St. Bene't. We went into the church,

which is now a mosque, and scanned it narrowly. We noticed that this church had once been beauteous and decorated, for the walls had been painted, but the Saracens have destroyed the paintings by covering them with white-wash. Howbeit, in many places, the whitewash has fallen off, and the Christians' paintings can again be seen. There was painted the story of the conception and birth of the blessed Virgin Mary; how Joachim was cast out of the temple because his wife was barren; how he abode in the desert with his shepherds; how the angel appeared to him there; how, beneath the Golden Gate, he rushed into his wife's arms; and how Anna bore Mary. I have read in a certain pilgrim's book that the Saracens explain these paintings as referring to their own Mahomet; and there used to be an old woman who dwelt near this Saracen church, who, with floods of tears, [b] used to tell people how in these paintings was set forth Mahomet's life and his paradise, putting a carnal meaning upon all of them. When we had seen all these sights, we came forth from the church, grieving that so fair a church and so famous a convent, on so exceeding holy a spot, should belong to the Saracens.

In front of the church stands a great and exceeding ancient tree, which they say was planted by the most blessed Virgin Mary when she was still a little child, under the care of her parents, who are believed to have dwelt on this spot; for albeit Joachim and Anna dwelt for many years at Nazareth, yet when the most blessed Virgin's time was come to be conceived and born, they were prompted by the Holy Spirit to remove from Galilee to Judaea, to Jerusalem, that they might end their days there in God's service, near the Temple of the Lord, not knowing for how great a mystery God had kept them childless. When they were come from Nazareth to Jerusalem they bought

a house near the temple, above the sheep-pool, wherein the blessed Virgin Mary was conceived and born, as John of Damascus bears witness, saying, 'The Virgin Mary was born in Joachim's house, called the house of the sheep, because it is near the sheep-pool. In course of time the Christians built a church on the site of that holy house, to which church was joined a convent of nuns of the Order of St. Bene't, who were exceeding wealthy ladies, even down to the last year of our Lord, 1187, when the city was taken by the Saracens. When the city was taken there was done in this monastery a deed worthy to be for ever remembered, albeit some declare that it took place elsewhere in a convent of Clares.¹

* * * *

On the sixth, which is the day of the Lord's Transfiguration, we met on Mount Sion in the morning, and half the brethren of Mount Sion went up with us to the Mount of Olives and the Church of the Lord's Ascension, with chalices and other things needful, and there we solemnly sang a Mass of the Lord's Transfiguration, just as though we had been on Mount Tabor. Many Eastern Christians [*b*] were present at our Mass, because they count the day of the Lord's Transfiguration among their most solemn festivals. For this cause they consecrate almost all their churches in honour of St. Sophia, that is, of the Transfiguration of the Lord; and like as we cause to be painted in our churches the Crucifixion, and the Last Judgment, so in the churches of the Easterns the chief painting is that of the Lord's Transfiguration, with Moses and Elias, and the three Apostles lying on the ground. After we had finished our Masses, we walked round the church, and climbed as high as we could on the top of it to view the country round

¹ Here follows an account of how the nuns of St. Anne cut off their noses.

about ; for from it one can see as far as the Dead Sea, and far and wide over the Holy Land. In the church itself stand polished marble columns, among which there is one which the Eastern Christians embraced with their arms, laughing the while, and they all tried to touch the fingers of one hand with the fingers of the other. Unless a man has rather long fingers, he cannot touch one hand with the other while embracing that column. The superstitious Easterns believe that he who can do this will be more fortunate than the others, and that it is a sign of some exceeding good thing. I stood in that place for a long time, and watched their follies. After them we Westerns played the same game in jest, spanning the column, and I was just able to join the tips of my two longest fingers with a strong hugging and pressure. For an account of this church, see page 148 *a*.

After this, we went round about the Holy Mount, and visited its holy places. We entered the city by St. Stephen's Gate, and went up to kiss the House of Pilate. But when we heard that the master of the house was not in the city, we knocked, and were let in by his daughters, and visited the places of Christ's martyrdom. Had the man been there, he would on no account have let us in, nor could he have been prevailed upon to do so either by prayer or money. Howbeit, his two pleasant daughters appeared to us, and led us to the place where the Lord is believed to have been scourged. This is a round vaulted chapel, at the side of which there is a way up to the upper part of the house ; but they keep this holy place uncleanly and without honour, for it is, as it were, the sink of the house, into which all dirt is cast. Notwithstanding this, we went down into the dirt, offered our prayers, and received plenary (††) indulgences. But whether the Lord was crowned in the same place wherein He was scourged I

know not ; it seems from the Gospels of Matthew and of Mark that He was publicly scourged without, and crowned in the hall within ; but, in John ix., the scourging and crowning are put together. But the truth is that, owing to the pulling down and rebuilding of houses, these places are hard to find. About this house, see page 138 *a*. I have been let in thither twice ; and it is thought a great thing for a pilgrim to have been in the aforesaid place, for not one out of a thousand is able to get in. When we were going out we gave the girls some *madini*,¹ which they received with much gratitude, and told us, through an interpreter, that, whensoever their father was away [232 *a*], they would willingly let us come in. He is a cruel father to his daughters, and also to all Christian people, whom he will not endure so much as to look upon ; wherefore, because the Christians sympathise with his daughters because of the man's cruelty, they are attached to us, and let Christians into the house in despite of their father. They were two good-looking, rather tall girls, and, when we came in, they laid aside their veils, and spoke to us with smiling countenances, a thing which they would not have dared to do with Saracens.

BROTHER FELIX FABRI'S FINE PILGRIMAGE OVER THE
PARTS BELOW (MOUNT SION).

On the seventh day, before sunrise, I had said my matins and was standing in the upper walk of the cloister of the

¹ In vol. iii., p. 101 (part ii., 110 A), we learn that the silver coins current at Cairo were *madini*, with the Soldan's superscription, and that twenty-five of them went to the ducat. Now Madame J. Darmesteter's 'End of the Middle Ages,' T. Fisher Unwin, 1889, tells us that 'in 1389 the florin, the Venetian ducat, and the French franc were interchangeable coins, worth about 9s. 8d. of our money.' According to this, the *madinus* would be worth rather less than fivepence. Fabri says that they were not so broad as the German silver coins marked with the cross, but of better silver.

brethren of Mount Sion as the day was breaking. While I gazed down into the Valley of Gehinnon, I was seized with a longing to go that very morning so far down the valley that I should no longer be able to see the Mount Sion, to seek for the well of En Rogel and the stone Zohemoth, whereof we are told in 1 Kings i. 9, and to see the places Toph and Tophet, which are mentioned in Jeremiah vii. 31, 32, and throughout the whole of Jeremiah xix. This place is the valley of the sons of Hinnom, which is called the Valley of Hinnon, or the Valley Jehennon or Gehenna (Joshua xviii. and 4 Esdras i.) ; and thence I might go yet further down the valley, and see whether the brook Cedron hath running water in it in the lower ground, as many think that it hath : the truth whereof I shall show hereafter. After this I might climb up the Mount of Offence, whose skirts reach down even to Gehenna. Of this mount we read in 1 Kings xi. 7. All these things likewise I wished to see, and prove for myself. I therefore left the place where I had been standing, that I might go to the Father Guardian, to beg of him to give me one of the brethren as a companion, with whom I might visit the aforesaid places ; but I did not dare to awaken that venerable man, who was still asleep. So I plucked up spirit, and began this long journey alone, for it was still early morn, and I knew that the Saracens would not rise from their beds before sunrise. I went down from Mount Sion and came into the king's garden, which of old appertained to the king's court, through which King Zedekiah and all his men of war fled from the face of the Assyrians, as we read in 2 Kings xxv. 4. In this garden I found most excellent ripe figs, whereon I broke my fast, till I could eat no more. At length I went down from the king's garden to the bathing-pool of Siloam, and the cleft in the rock from whence the fountain of Siloam springs

forth. Here I entered in, drank of the holy water, and bathed my eyes and face. I had never before seen this water flowing so abundantly as at that hour, for that fountain doth not always pour forth its waters, nor always in the same volume, as is told afore, page 160 *b*. Having thus refreshed myself, and having obtained plenary indulgence (††) at the holy water, I went on my way from the water of the fountain, and came down to the bottom of the valley, to the brook Cedron, and saw no man. The sun had now risen, and was shining on the tops of the mountains, but where I was [*b*] it was still partly dark, and dripping with morning dew. I went down into the Valley of Gehenna, and hurried along the exceeding rough bed of the brook, as far as where the valley bends round, so that I could no longer see the Mount Sion or the Mount of the Temple. When these were taken out of my sight, I stood still and examined the bed of the brook, which I found to be as dry as it is higher up, in Jerusalem; nor could I in any wise see how it could have an underground course there, in an exceeding deep valley, full of rocks. I was moved to make this examination by certain descriptions of the Holy Land, in which I had read that the brook Cedron was an everflowing river, but that by reason of the many destructions of the holy city, whose walls and ruins were cast down into the valley, the bed of the river was choked up. But since that is a true proverb which saith no man can stop a stream, they say that the river itself, which they call the brook, still holds its natural and unceasing course beneath these ruins, as hath been set forth above, page 142 *a*, and on many pages afterwards to page 170. But I now could not see how this could be true, because I was a long way below the ruins of Jerusalem, and could not see a drop of running water. Moreover, at another time I went down this same valley, even to the Dead Sea, as may be

seen on the whole of page 236, yet I saw no water running down it. Howbeit, it is possible that once there was a river there, and now it is no more there, as befell the Numicius, a river in the Laurentine country, which has been made famous by the songs of Maro and other Latin poets, into which they say that Æneas the Trojan fell, and from the waters of which alone the ancients used to pour libations in the worship of the goddess Vesta. Of a truth, this river at this day is not; for it dwindled away by degrees, and first shrunk to a fountain, and then at last the fountain itself became dry, as may be read in Boccacius his 'Treatise on Rivers.' But one cannot gather from the most ancient Scriptures that a river always flowed over this torrent bed, but only that in winter time there was sometimes a rush of waters down it, caused by rain and melted snow. So much for this.

I next turned towards Jerusalem¹ and went hurriedly up the torrent bed to the place where I could see the Holy City, whose most pleasant aspect breathed into me a new spirit of joy and cast out fear from me, for while I was in the lower valley I was afraid, because the Valley of Gehenna is a horrible place, more especially in its lower part, where it lacks the brightness of the Holy City beaming down upon it from above. While on my way up Gehenna I came to the place where the Valley of Siloam joins the Valley of Siloam (? Sion). Here it is said was the well Rogel, and here at the present day stands a great and deep cistern, but no well. By this well in the days of old there were groves, and there was a place of pasture where the young men were wont to try and prove their strength; and here was the stone Zohelath—that is to say, the stone of drawing, because he who could draw that stone was a strong man. So here I saw neither the well nor the stone,

¹ The text here is so corrupt as to be unintelligible.

only a cistern and many rocks. Here it was that Adonijah made a feast and a plot to make himself king. Here, too, were the groves and the idol worship, and many evil deeds have been done in this Valley of Ennon or of Gehenna. [233 *a*] This valley and place is called Gehennon, from Ennon, who once was its owner. Now, Ennon is being interpreted 'the course of death' or 'the well of sorrow,' and means that in the last judgment the reprobate will be led through that valley to the place of death, as may be read on page 170 *b*. Of a truth, all the names of that valley strike horror into the mind, for it is called (1) Ennon, the course of death; (2) Gehenna, the valley of sorrow; (3) Hennon, the valley of slaying; (4) Jehenna, the depth of death; (5) Toph, the punishment of fools; (6) Tophet, the wide-reaching punishment of sorrow; (7) Cedron, useless pain; (8) Chela, the fire of the Lord; (9) Chrinarus, the judgment of devouring fire. Besides these names the valley is called the valley of slaughter (Jer. xix.) and the valley of slaying (Jer. vii.). How hateful and accursed this valley is may be seen in the aforesaid chapters of Jeremiah and in chapter xxxii., also in what I have written on page 170 *a, b*. Frequent mention is made in Scripture of the high places of Toph, in the Valley of Ennon, which must be understood to mean that in this deep valley there stood high altars to idols. This valley and mount was defiled by that most zealous king, Josiah, who, as it were, laid an excommunication upon it, which he carried out upon those who entered into it, and put to death all the priests of the valley in it, as is told in 2 Kings xxiii. For like as the Valley of Jehoshaphat was holy and blessed, together with its mount, which is the Mount of Olives, even so was the Valley of Ennon profane and accursed, together with its mount, which is the Mount of Offence. Wherefore from that valley hath been taken this name, Gehenna, to signify the valley of everlasting damnation in hell.

THE MOUNT OF OFFENCE TO GOD, AND THE IDOL
MOLOCH.

Now, when I had viewed the aforesaid valley, I turned myself toward its eastern side, at the foot of the Mount of Offence, and went up its slope to the mount itself, which is lower than the Mount of Olives, on whose shoulder it lies on its southern slope. On the top thereof I found a great house, but it was empty, whereat I was exceeding well content, for I should not have been a welcome guest to Saracens dwelling therein. On this mount Solomon set up two profane buildings—to wit, the temple of Moloch and the house for his concubines—whereby he greatly offended God, wherefore it was called the Mount of Offence, as may be seen in 1 Kings xi. 7.

This idol Moloch was worshipped with an exceeding cruel ritual, wherefore it was expressly forbidden (Levit. xx. 2) to sacrifice to him. Notwithstanding this, Solomon, led by his women, set up a temple to Moloch on that mount, and brought the people to worship him, and gave pay to the priests of the idol. The ritual wherewith this idol was worshipped consisted of the killing of children. Moloch was a great image of a man, cast in brass, and hollowed out within throughout all his members. He stood on a pillar in the midst of his temple with outstretched hands and arms as though longing and expecting to receive a gift in his arms, like a tender mother who stretches forth her arms to take her babe, for the arms of the idol were fashioned in such sort that a child [b] could lie in them as though in his mother's arms. At the time of the sacrifice, when a child was to be immolated there, the priests used to put live coals within the body of the idol, and make it glowing and fiery; they then took an innocent and healthy child from the hands of its parents,

who had brought it to be sacrificed, and set it in the arms of the idol. And to the end that the parents and friends of the child who stood round about might not be beyond measure troubled by the shrieks of the child, priests stood hard by the idol and made a great noise with loud-sounding drums, cymbals, and trumpets, that the parents of the dying child might not hear its voice, and they continued to sound these instruments until the child was burned in the embrace of the idol and perished. When he had been thus consumed, the priests and all who were present at the sacrifice congratulated the parents with joyous countenances on their having been thought worthy to have had a child taken up into the fellowship of the gods. From that day forth all the idolaters revered the whole of that family as having been ennobled, and believed that all the kinsfolk of the child which had been sacrificed would be more fortunate for all time to come. A like rite was observed among the Gentiles in the worship of Saturn, and it may be that the god whom the Greeks name Saturn was he whom the Hebrews call Moloch, for there were brazen statues of Saturn of wondrous size, whose hands were stretched out to the ground round about them in such sort that the young men who were forced to go up to these idols fell into a great pit full of fire. This we read in Casa, *De Ev. Spir.*, Book IV., ch. vii. and viii.

Many idols—or, rather, devils in the shape of idols—could not be appeased save by the death of innocents, and it was the custom to sacrifice children for many reasons, for which see Casa, *De Ev. Spir.*, Book IV., ch. vii. and viii. The practice of human sacrifice came to an end in the time of the Emperor Hadrian. They used to perform this most cruel rite on this mount and in this valley, and, no doubt, greatly offended God thereby. The idol Moloch is mentioned in Jer. xxii. 2, Amos v. 25, 26, and Acts vii. 43.

Moreover, it was on this mount that Solomon is said to have built a house for his concubines, whose number was exceeding great, wherefore we read in the Song of Solomon (ch. vi.), 'There are threescore queens and fourscore concubines, and virgins without number.' If, then, this text applies to him and be taken of Solomon literally, without any spiritual meaning, he must needs have had many houses for so many women. So he built castles and palaces for the queens, and built this house for the concubines, while he arranged lodgings for the virgins in the houses of their parents. But the daughter of Pharaoh, about whom he is believed to have sung the Song of Songs, of whom he said, 'My dove, my undefiled one is fair,' dwelt with him on Mount Sion. But, forasmuch as the house there was sacred, because the ark of the Lord had sojourned therein, he built her a house in Millo, as we are told in 1 Kings ix. 24, that she might ever be near him.

Having viewed this place and this mount, I went down into the valley at a quick pace, bearing towards the Mount of Olives. I reached the bottom of the valley close to the Pyramid of Jehoshaphat. I examined this pyramid with great care, and entered it, climbing in through the window. Some say that this pyramid is the pillar which Absalom reared up for himself, as we are told in 2 Sam. xviii. 18, where we read, 'Now, Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale, and he called the pillar after his own name, the Hand of Absalom.'¹ But it does not seem as though this could stand, because we nowhere read that the Valley of Jehosha-

¹ 2 Sam. xviii. 18. The A.V. reads : ' Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and reared up for himself a pillar, which is in the king's dale ; for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance : and he called the pillar after his own name ; and it is called unto this day Absalom's place.' For *titulus*, in this sense, see John of Würzburg, ch. x., Theoderich, xv. Cf. Tobler's 'Topogr.,' i., 542.

phat and the brook Cedron are called the King's Dale. The author of the *Speculum Historiale* says that this valley is two stadia distant from Jerusalem. Neither hath this pillar been reared up, seeing that it is hewn from the solid rock ; but Absalom's pillar was a stone of polished marble set upright. (234 a) Now, when I had seen these things, I crossed over the brook Cedron, went up to the Mount Sion, and came in to dinner full of sweat and in a burning heat. When the Father Guardian and the brethren heard that I had visited all these places unmolested, they were astonished.

On the eighth day, before it was light, I went down with some of the brethren to the cave of Christ's agony, whereof I have spoken on page 144, and there, seeing that it was the sixth day of the week, we celebrated a Mass of the Lord's Passion, after which we went up to Galilee. Now on the northern side of the Mount Galilee there is a lofty mountain, which is a great way off, seeing that it is four stadia distant from Jerusalem. On this mount Solomon built a temple to Chemosh,¹ the idol of the Moabites, and in this same place in the time of the Maccabees there was built a strong castle, from which the city of Jerusalem was much vexed in the days of the Greek and Roman dominion. Going onward, we came down from that place (Galilee), not, indeed, directly toward the city, but toward the north, where we came into a fairly fertile valley, planted with trees, through which leads the road whereby one goes from Jerusalem to Nazareth, and as we went on we came to the village wherein the blessed Virgin and Joseph sought the child Jesus among their kinsfolk and acquaintance, and when they found Him not, turned back again to Jerusalem, as is told in Luke ii. 45. In this valley we came to a place full of ancient ruins, where once it is

¹ 1 Kings ii. 7.

said stood the village of Anathoth, from whence came the prophet Jeremiah, who was hallowed while yet in his mother's womb, born of the seed of the priests, began to prophecy while still a boy, and both foretold and saw with his eyes, the destruction of Jerusalem, as we are told by Jerome in his prologue to Jeremiah. Now the same Jerome in his book 'On the distances of places' names this village Arabath, and says that it was a village of priests: for the priests owned villages and farms round about Jerusalem, wherefore Gethsemane and Bethphage and Nob and Anathoth were villages of priests, wherein they fed the beasts offered for firstfruits or for tithes. There was special prophecy to the priests of Anathoth, as we see in Jer. xi. 21, 23. So after we had seen Anathoth in ruins, which, indeed, we could hardly discern, we came back into Jerusalem, entered it by St. Stephen's Gate, and went up to Mount Sion, kissing the holy places throughout the city on our way.

On the ninth day, which was a Saturday, and the eve of St. Laurence, I went very early in the morning before sunrise with some of the brethren into the valley of Jehoshaphat to the church of the sepulchre of the most blessed Virgin Mary, where we celebrated. Indeed, every Saturday the Father Guardian sends some of the brethren to celebrate there, and I often used to go with them. After our Masses were over, we climbed up the Mount of Olives, and went down the other side of it into Bethany, where we saw and kissed the holy places, and returned to the Mount Sion. When we were come thither, we found all their lordships the pilgrims assembled together in the monastery waiting for me, that they might give an answer to a certain Mameluke who had ordered all the pilgrims to be brought into his presence, that he might debate certain matters with them. [*b*] For it had been heard in

the court of the Lord Soldan at Cairo that Christian pilgrims from the West, puissant and noble lords, were in Jerusalem. Wherefore he had sent forth from Egypt this Mameluke, who was the dragoman of the Christians in Cairo, to learn who we were and whence we came ; moreover, if we were of France, he had it in his orders to bring us captive to Jerusalem ; for what cause I know not. But after he had heard from Sabathytanco, our dragoman, that we were not come from France, he came with him to Mount Sion, ordered us all to be brought to him, and greeted us after a friendly sort both in Latin and Italian. ‘If,’ said he, ‘you please, you may journey down into Egypt with me to-morrow by the king’s highway, and in ten days we shall be in Cairo, from whence I will send you with an escort into Arabia to Mount Sinai ; and when you come back from thence you may stay in my house for as long as you please.’ By these words and other good promises he so wrought upon us that we should assuredly have departed with him had our plans and our baggage been in any kind of order ; but we had hitherto prepared none of the things which are needful for this journey. Howbeit, we thanked the man for his kind offer, and begged him that whenever by God’s grace we should reach Matharea and the garden of balsam on our way from Mount Sinai, he would be so good as to lead us quickly from thence into Cairo, and send us straightway down the Nile from Cairo to Alexandria, that we might not miss the ships at Alexandria which were going to Venice. All this he promised that he would faithfully do, and promised us many more things, whereat we were greatly pleased. More remains to be told about this man in his own place. His name was Tanquardinus, and he came to us in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly he was a ravening wolf, as will appear on page 70, Part II. So, after he had held this

discourse with us, he departed, and went back to Egypt. After dinner we pilgrims all went together to the bath or hot-house, wherein we bathed and washed ourselves with the Saracens. This hot bath is like that at Rama, spoken of on page 84 *a*. After our bath we entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

THE FIFTH ENTRY OF THE PILGRIMS INTO THE CHURCH
OF THE RESURRECTION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST,
AND INTO THE LORD'S SEPULCHRE.

(235 *a*) On the eve of the tenth day, which was the Feast of St. Laurence the martyr, and the eleventh Sunday after Trinity, we were again let into the Church of the Most Holy Sepulchre of the Lord, in the manner aforesaid, and that night we watched beside the holy sepulchre, went the round of the holy places, as we had done before, celebrated Masses after Matins, and at sunrise sang a Mass in the Lord's tomb, after which the Moors cast us out. Three of the Minorite brethren of Mount Sion, young men, were with us in the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, and these I begged to come down with me into the Valley of Jehoshaphat, because it was still early morning. This they were quite willing to do, provided that I would make their excuses to the Father Guardian for not having obtained his leave, which I promised to do and did. So we went through the city, and went down into the street of the cooks, wherein I bought from the cooks for the brethren and for myself pastry made with eggs, cakes, meat pies, roasted meat, bunches of grapes, and figs. With these provisions we went down into the valley, crossed the brook to the farm at Gethsemane, and there sat down in the shade under the olive-trees, and breakfasted merrily together. We had no drink, but we sucked the grapes instead of drink. These grapes were exceeding sweet, and

were both black and white ones. After we had finished breakfast, and kissed the nearest holy places, we went up the Mount Sion, and sat down to dinner with the brethren. After dinner their lordships the pilgrims came to Mount Sion, and begged the dragoman to take us to Bethlehem. They had collected and hired asses and drivers, and came to us with them; so we mounted our asses, and set out from Jerusalem with Sabathytanco the Saracen. When we came to the hill as one goes up the Mount Gion, over against Mount Sion, a host of Arabs met us, who had heard of our journey, though I know not who had betrayed it to them, and barred the way against us unless we paid toll and money, for which they asked a pretty large sum of money. This we refused to pay; so after we had wrangled with one another for some time, they forcibly drove us back again into Jerusalem.

A TREATISE CONCERNING THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE
DEAD SEA.

When we were come back into the Holy City we asked the dragoman and Calinus to supply us with asses and a safe conduct, wherewith we might go down to the Dead Sea to view the same. When the two Saracen Calini heard this they threw great difficulties in the way of this pilgrimage, and brought forward many reasons by which to cause us to turn back from this pilgrimage which we had proposed. Their first reason was somewhat theological, for they argued that we had come thither from parts beyond sea that we might visit the holy places which the Lord hath blessed, and which our Christ hath hallowed, not for the sake of seeing ungodly places which the Lord hath cursed [*b*], such as the Dead Sea, which the Saracens themselves call the accursed sea, and which they said ought to be shunned and loathed by every believer in the Scriptures;

and they told us that we ought to be content with having seen the blessed Jordan. Their second reason for being unwilling to take us to the Dead Sea was on account of the Arabs and Midianites, who dwell in those deserts, and wander about the King's highway for plunder. Pilgrims cannot be well defended against their attacks unless they be put to flight and hurt with swords and arrows, for they are unarmed and naked. Now, our guides were not willing to hurt these men for our sakes, but said that they had rather that we should be robbed than that they should be hurt. Indeed, these Arabs are so hungry and wretched that without weapons they will attack armed men and jeopard their lives for bread. The third reason. They said that about the shore of that sea there were many harmful and poisonous animals, both great and small, such as lions, bears, wild boars, snakes, worms, and the like.

The fourth reason. They said that the King Soldan had forbidden any strangers to be taken to this sea, and that this was because of the most venomous but most noble serpent, the Tyr, lest it might come to pass that he should be caught by the foreigners and taken out of the country, for he is found nowhere else in the world save only on the shores of the Dead Sea; wherefore the Soldan hath forbidden the people of the land, on pain of death, to catch those serpents and sell them to any man, but to bring them into Egypt to himself. Howbeit, poor men often break this law, and sell them to Christian merchants, in Damascus and Beyrout as well as in Alexandria and Cairo. Of this serpent is made that most powerful and precious drug tyriack, neither is there any true tyriack save that which is taken from this serpent, from which it gets its name. The shape of this serpent is said to be this: His length is about half an ell, and his thickness about that of a man's thumb. His colour is yellow, with a certain mixture

of red, and by nature he is always born and remains blind, and always rages terribly, gliding along exceeding swiftly with an angry hiss. Against his bite no remedy is known, and unless the limb which is poisoned by his venom be straightway hewn off, the whole body incontinently becomes inflamed, swells up, and bursts. He attacks all creatures, so that sometimes great beasts are found dead beside this sea from the poison of the tyr. When he is angry, he puts forth a fiery tongue; he whirls round exceeding swiftly; in his anger his whole body glows like hot iron, and his head, which at other times is small, swells out till it is larger than his body. On his face he has bristles like a boar. If he bites a horse, his rider takes the poison also and dies. Had not the Author of nature deprived this creature of eyes, no man could come near him, nor could he be caught by any means, for the serpent is exceeding cunning. Physicians and apothecaries deal with this serpent as follows in the making of tyriack: they take one that has been caught alive, and put him in a wide, empty basin, wherein he can run to and fro and seek for a way out, but cannot get out; and while [236*a*] he is thus crawling round, trying to get out, they get sticks and needles, and therewith prick him and greatly rouse him to anger. Now, when he is kindled and swelled with anger, all the venom which at other times is spread abroad through his body runs together into his head and tail; then at one stroke with a sharp knife or razor both of these are cut off; but if only one part, either the head or the tail, be cut off, the middle part will be useless. This creature is taught by nature to withhold his venom, and it is only by great art that he can be circumvented. These poisons are sold for a great price, more than gold or precious stones. The Lord Soldan, King of Egypt, hath laid up in his treasures these two especial things, which grow in his dominions, to wit, balsam, and the

serpent tyr. Wherefore, as pilgrims are not let into the garden of balsam without the very greatest caution, as is told on page 65, Part II., even so they may not wander on the shores of the Dead Sea because of the tyr and because of the Jew's pitch, which likewise is found nowhere save there on the shore.

The fifth reason for hindering us is the stench and evil smell arising from that sea, whereby a man who is not accustomed to it easily takes infection, sickens, and dies.

Sixth reason. They said that there was nothing beautiful there, and that we should see nothing pleasant, but should have hard toil, useless expense, and many alarms. Some of the pilgrims, when they heard of these and other hindrances, drew back, saying that they would not go down thither if they were paid for it. But others, in spite of them, were eager to go, and so for a second time we were divided into two parts, even as befell us before in the matter of the pilgrimage to Galilee and Nazareth, as may be seen on page 222 *a*. Howbeit, the greater part of the pilgrims asked to be led down thither, nor would they give it up, even if it should be needful to beg the Lord Naydan, the governor, for leave and safe conduct. On hearing this Sabathytanco sent on that same day to Ameth, the governor of Bethlehem, a brave and faithful Moor, who was allied to the Arabs and did not fear them, asking him to come that same night from Bethlehem to Mount Sion in Jerusalem, with fourteen mules or asses, and take the pilgrims to the Dead Sea and back again for a sum of money to be arranged with himself. We, for our part, provided food and drink for two days and one night, to be carried with us on this journey.

THE PILGRIMAGE TO THE DEAD SEA.

On the eleventh day, before it was light, Ameth came to the Mount Sion with mules, asses, and slaves, and they knocked at the door of the convent and asked for the pilgrims, but no one of them was in the convent save me alone. So I ran down in the dark from Sion to Millo, to the house of Elphahallo, in which their lordships the pilgrims lay, where I knocked at the door with a stone and waked them, and those who wished to go on the pilgrimage came up with me. We now mounted our beasts and went down from Mount Sion into the Valley of Siloam, and when we came to the bathing pool we went down into the depths [*b*] of Toph and Gehenna, through the dread Valley of Gehenna, and it was still dark ; yet the nights did not seem to me to be so dark in these parts beyond the seas as they are in our country, for there are no clouds or mist there to dull the brightness of the stars. Meanwhile the sun rose, and we kept going on ever downwards, through a narrow valley with steep overhanging rocks on either side, till the sun was high in heaven. This valley was exceeding rough, being full of rocks and stones, from which the earth had been washed away by the rush of water in flood-time. At these times the waters rush down there with such force as to tear great rocks from their places and hurl them along. The upper end of this valley is the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and the brook Cedron, nor could I trace there any continuous flow of water, as I have said before on page 232.

When on our way down we had ridden two good German miles, the valley began to be steeper and rougher, and where it was thus narrow we came to the monastery of St. Saba the Abbot, where we entered the monastery, and were respectfully welcomed by the Caloyers or Greek monks. In the monastery we found many Arabs of the

desert, both husbandmen and highway-robbers, at the sight of whom we were desperately frightened, suspecting that we were betrayed: and we suspected our guide himself, Master Ameth, of meaning to plot evil against us. When he observed this, he came with the chief of those robber Arabs to the chamber into which we had been brought, and both of them pledged their troth to us, and promised we should be safe both in our bodies and goods. If, however, we chose to graciously bestow a fee or small present upon them, we should have them at our service, and they would come down to the sea with us and defend us. So we gave them some madini, on receiving which they were satisfied, and we were comforted, and our minds were set at ease. We now brought forth from our scrips the things which we had provided at Jerusalem, and bottles of wine, and we ate and drank: moreover, we gave some biscuits to our guide and the Arabs, and the monks brought us cold water to wash our feet withal and to drink. After we had eaten and refreshed ourselves we went into the church, where we prayed to God and received indulgences (†) for seven years: moreover, we went into the sepulchre of St. Saba and prayed there. This sepulchre I believe to be empty, forasimuch as the body of this saint rests at Venice, as is shown on page 40. After we had seen these sights, their lordships the pilgrims lay down on the ground in the shade and went to sleep, but I could in no wise sleep or rest, but rambled about by myself through all parts of the monastery, both down in the valley and up above, and narrowly examined all the caves and huts of the holy monks of old with great admiration, and also with peril of falling as I climbed up and down over rocks and crags, and the ruins of old buildings. Moreover, I came into the following danger in these my solitary wanderings: I came to a narrow pass, close to the cell of

St. Saba, where a wall stands out from the rock on one side, but on the other side there is nothing but a horrible open precipice or overhanging cliff. Through this [237 *a*] pass only one man can go at a time; I do not mean one this way and one that way, but one man alone, taking care lest he fall down below. As I was passing through this place I met an Eastern Christian, who perhaps was a servant of the monastery. This man on seeing me came forward toward me, and after I had stepped some way backwards, as he saw that I was sore afraid, he began to jest with me, as though he would cast me down into the abyss. When I besought him as well as I could with signs to let me pass in peace, he would not, but signed to me that he would throw me over unless I gave him some money. Hearing this, I opened my purse and gave him one madinus, on receiving which he let me go. From that hour forth and ever after I have abhorred the company of Christians of that sort more than that of Saracens or Arabs, and have trusted them less. Though perhaps he would not have thrown me down the precipice even had I given him nothing, yet it was wicked in him to play with a man whom he had never seen before, in a place of such danger, and to take money for leaving me in peace. If an Arab had met me and done so, I should have been pleased at his play, and should have held him to be a good pagan, but I believe no good of that Christian. When I was come back to my lords the pilgrims, I told them what that Christian had done to me, and we told the matter to Ameth, our patron, who reproached him most bitterly, and was exceeding ill pleased with him. He told us that these Eastern Christians are the least to be trusted of any men. We remained in that monastery for about five hours, till the raging heat of the sun had abated.

NOTE UPON THE MONASTERY OF ST. SABA THE ABBOT.

This monastery of St. Saba the Abbot is one of the most wondrous things which I have seen in all my travels. But whether this was the convent of that St. Saba, of whom we read in the 'Lives of the Fathers,' I am uncertain ; for we read that St. Saba had a monastery in Syria, and was Father Superior over thirteen thousand monks, whereas this monastery is in Judaea ; albeit Judaea is itself a part or nation of Syria. The monks who dwell in the monastery at this day say that St. Saba the Abbot, the founder and father of that monastery, had at one and the same time in his convent fourteen thousand monks, a thing which one who hears it can scarce believe ; but when he sees the place, he agrees that though the number may not have been so great, yet he sees that a mighty swarm of monks must have dwelt there. These monks were and are now of the rule of St. Basil, Greeks, even as are the monks in the monastery of St. Catherine below Mount Sinai. We Western monks wonder much whence such a multitude of monks could get food and raiment ; but he who hath seen the customs, food, and dress of the Eastern monks, wonders no more. Our food is plenteous and various, our raiment is manifold and costly, our houses and monasteries are of divers sorts, delicately wrought and sumptuous ; but there is nought of this sort even at this present day among the Eastern monks. Of a truth I believe that the expenses of one convent of twenty brethren of Western monks of the greater orders are greater than those of a convent of an hundred Eastern monks. They spend little on buildings, for they have little huts woven out of common bushes, wherein one cannot stand save with a bent back ; and their churches are not much more ambitious than the huts of the monks, for like them they

have walls of wattled bushes daubed over with mud, only loftier than the monks' huts. In their dress one sees nothing costly, nothing becoming, even at the present day, albeit the modern Eastern monks have greatly fallen away from the perfection of their forerunners, who went about clothed in sheepskins and goatskins, with cloaks woven of palm leaves, while many of them endured the heat of the day and the cold of the night naked for many years, with no dwelling save caves in the rocks; nor did they abide ever in one place, but roamed through the heart of the wilderness, set themselves far apart from all mankind, and took no thought about either their food or their raiment. Indeed, the food and drink of all Easterns, more especially of monks, is exceeding scanty, and wine is drunk as a rule but seldom by laymen, and never by monks. Thus they live with very small expense: whereas, on the contrary, the Western monks are maintained with most lavish expenditure: wherefore St. Jerome inveighs against them in one of his epistles, saying that they surfeit themselves until they are sick. On account of this saying the Western monks were wroth with him. A certain holy man, a Western monk, when he heard of this saying of St. Jerome, replied that thereby Jerome reproached certain gluttonous Eastern monks, and meant that the appetite which Westerns have by nature becomes gluttony among the Easterns, as we may read in the *Speculum Historiale*, Book XVIII., chs. x. and xii. There also we learn that some Western monks once went into the wilderness of Egypt, to the end that they might see the Eastern monks. Some of them came to the cell of an old man, and after prayer and exhortation were invited to dinner by the old man. When they were seated at table he set before five brethren half a loaf, and a bunch of herbs which are like mint, full of leaves of a taste like honey. One of the brethren ate up

this provision which was meant for all five, and he was by no means satisfied. Indeed, the composition of the bodies of the Easterns and Westerns is different, seeing that they are affected by different influences of the heavenly bodies. Wherefore it is certainly true that many things are by nature necessary to Westerns, which to Easterns would be superfluities and sinful luxury, and this holds good of houses and dwelling-places, clothes, food, and drink. Moreover, in days of old the monks used to till the earth, and of the fruits thereof a portion was given to each man to deal with as he pleased: and they had so great an abundance that in the East they lacked poor men to feed, and were forced to send corn to parts beyond the sea for the poor in the West to eat. From this it is clear that many monks could dwell together by the hundred and thousand at a time, even as in this monastery of St. Saba.

To return to my subject, the aforesaid monastery is thus arranged: It takes up a long stretch of the Valley of Gehenna, which valley is there deep and narrow, and bristles on either side with precipitous rocks, wherewith the valley is fenced as with a wall for no small distance along it. All this space was once the monastery. The rocks on either side are cavernous, not hollowed out, but naturally hollow, so as to afford most fitting dwellings for monks who wish to give themselves up to prayer and contemplation. These caves are roofed in above by overhanging rocks and beetling crags. Howbeit, the benign Creator has so directed the work of nature that these caverns run along lengthwise in regular order after the fashion of cells. At the bottom, at the foot of the rock, there is a row of caves, and higher up there is another row above them, and a third aloft, above these; while on the crest there are dwellings built by human art, in such sort that one side of the valley shows four stories of cells.

The lowest row of cells or caves are entered from the torrent-bed on the same level; there is a way up to the story above, and there in front of the cells there is a projecting rock, reaching in front of the mouths of the caves, in such sort that before the doorways there is an open pathway; and so there is in the story above that. Now, the caves in each story are separate, like the cells along one side of a dormitory, not made so by man's work and skill, but so built by nature. In the places where nature has not sufficed to make a complete chamber, it has been helped by human art; when two caves have an opening in the party-wall between them, the opening has been stopped up with a wall, or out of one great cavern two or three dwellings have been made by intermediate walls, while sometimes too narrow a cavern has been enlarged by cutting away the rock. Whosoever of the brethren could not have a cave of his own down in the valley itself, hewed out a cave for himself in the wall thereof, or in the rock above it at the top; wherefore even at this day, both down in the valley and above it, there are as many ruins of walls as though there had been a city there. Some of the built cells are still standing, and many huts built of dry stones. Moreover, it seems that there were once tall towers, stately rooms, and great houses, both upon the top of the rock, in the rock itself, and on the ground below. The church of the place still stands unharmed; it is fairly large, and is founded upon a rock, which rock juts out from the upper part of the side of the valley, and has no foundation, but is open all round, save only in the place where it comes out from the side of the valley.

Beneath the rock whereon the church stands is a large and darksome hollow leading deep into the mountain, from which flows out a stream, but a very small one, of living water, whereby the monks there support life, and it is called

the Fountain of St. Saba. One shudders to see the church and other buildings standing upon a rock which hangs in the air without any foundation. Near the church is the rock-hewn cell of St. Saba, to which one goes by that dizzy ascent whereof I have already made mention. On the other side of the church, too, above this rock, there are the cells of monks, who still dwell there to the number of six. They never could abide there were they not in league with the Arabs, who succour them and protect them against the Saracens, and the place is, as it were, an open castle of Arabs, and a refuge for the same, wherefore it is never free from Arab robbers.

Above the valley are wide arable fields, which the monks of old used to till not only for themselves, but from out of those fields they gathered oil and corn, by the work of their hands, for the poor of Syria and Palestine. As long as this monastery, with the rest of the Holy Land, was still in the hands of the faithful, the same rule was followed by the monks in divine service as that which was practised in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, both in the daytime and by night. When any hour was struck in the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, straightway their lordships the canons regular of Mount Sion also struck it. After them struck the monks on the Mount of Olives throughout all their churches. When this was heard in Bethany, it was struck throughout the churches of that place also, [b] and the noise of these bells reached as far as St. Saba, who were heard ringing in the places round about; and so they kept up the rule that the first stroke was always given in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the same hour was sounded throughout the entire Holy Land. But all these things have passed away since the holy sepulchre has come into the hands of the infidels. All the instruments of God's praise are silent, and the

monastery of St. Saba has been brought almost to nought. The monks who now dwell there told us how it was that so great a monastery was laid desolate. After the Holy Land was lost for the last time, these monks defended themselves for many months against the attacks of the Saracens, waged war stiffly with the infidels, and several times put them to flight. At length the King Soldan in his own person came down upon them from Jerusalem with his army, and asked them to become Saracens. They sent back word to him that if he would see fit to become a Christian, they were prepared to serve him, but that if he would not, they would defend themselves to the death. Hearing this, the Soldan moved his host against them, and, after waging a long war, conquered the monks, broke into their monastery, and sent them to heaven by divers torments; but he did not touch the church, though he destroyed all the cells and the ways leading up to the caves, and brought about the piteous desolation that now is. Howbeit, he left there certain monks who had taken oaths of fealty to him. And thus it stands even to this day.

DEPARTURE FROM ST. SABA.

So when the heat of the sun began to slacken, we took our srips and our asses, and went down the dangerous path down the crags into the valley, leading our asses. Mounting our beasts, we went down into the lower parts of Gehenna along the midst of the torrent-bed, shut in on either side by exceeding steep walls of rock, and having beneath our feet a surpassingly rough, stony, untrodden road. Thus we went on, slowly and wearily, for several hours. I wanted to go on in the Valley of Gehenna even to the Dead Sea, that I might have seen the brook Cedron falling into the sea, but our guide was

of another mind ; for when we had gone a long way down, we passed into another valley—a wide and beauteous one, and a fertile, were there any to till it—which reaches lengthwise from north to south, even as the Valley of Gehenna reaches from the east to the west. These two valleys are the opposite of one another in position, in condition, and in name. In position, as hath been said, this valley is nowise joined to the Dead Sea, but it separates holy mountains. In condition, forasmuch as the one is barren, stony, darksome, and so forth, whereas this other is rich, grassy, wide, and bright. Moreover, they differ also in name, for the other is called Gehenna, the Valley of Cursing, but this is called the Valley of Blessing, whereof we read in 2 Chron. xx. 26, where we are told that it gained this name from the praise of God which Jehoshaphat, the King of Jerusalem, and the people of Judaea, offered up there after they had overthrown their enemies. In this valley we saw the ruins of ancient buildings. Going further, we came to [239 *a*] a certain place, wherein was a countless number of holes of asps and serpents, both great and small, but we saw no beast, for they only come forth at night. Ameth, our guide, told us that in that place there were snakes as thick as a man's arm, and as long as a lance. After we had journeyed northwards through the Valley of Blessing for a long time, we left that valley, set our faces towards the east, and went down across trackless mountains, down steep hillsides and precipices, and we had the sea before our eyes, fully in sight, though it was yet a great way off. So now we quickened our pace, and went down fast, because the sun was near setting, and thus at last we came into the land of Sodom, to the shore of the Dead Sea, at the head thereof, where it taketh Jordan into its jaws.

Now, Ameth, our guide, and the Moors, his servants,

kept a long way off the sea because they loathed it, and scorned to go down to its accursed water, but we rode down even to the water, hobbled our asses, and dismounted. We saw by the ruins that once a great square house must have stood there, partly built on the land and partly in the sea. Great stones from these ruins lay on the shore, not covered with water, yet lying in the water, and upon these we went out some twelve paces into the sea, and saw, touched, and tasted the waters whereof so many marvels are told. This water is clear, but exceeding salt and thick, wherefore sometimes in Scripture it is called the saltiest sea. Wherefore when any man takes of that water and puts it to his mouth, straightway by reason of its extreme saltness the inside of his mouth is burned even as though he had put boiling water there ; this I proved in my own person. Furthermore, since the water is thick and exceeding salt, he who puts his hands into it feels a pricking in his hands as though they were full of fleas and gnats, and he is forced to rub them as though he had the itch in them, and this he will suffer for many hours ; neither can this water be easily wiped off the hands, but it is as though one had dipped one's hands in oil. Also a stench proceeds from the water which causes loathing, and turns men's stomachs, so that the pilgrims could not stay there for long. The stones which lie in the sea with a part of them out of the water are all as though they had been covered with ice, and the whole shore near the water is white as though it were covered with fresh snow, yet there is no ice nor snow in that place, but exceeding sharp-tasted and bitter salt. I believe that one spoonful thereof would be salter than ten spoonfuls of our salt.

The rest of the ground which is not besprinkled with salt, but which is close by, is black, and looks as though it had been burned up with a devouring fire. It is atoning

for the wickedness of the people of Sodom, as will be shown more clearly hereafter. The common people say that the ruined walls, over which we went into the sea, are the remains of the house of Lot, the son of Abraham's brother, who dwelt in Sodom, as we read in Gen. xiii. As we lingered a little while beside this sea, our guides, Ameth and his men, stood on the higher ground above us, and called upon us with loud shouts to come away; and, indeed, [b] we were in a hurry to leave the place, for we had no pleasure there, but loathing and fear, even as though we were standing in a pit of corpses, by reason of the stench, or in a place wherein by some exceeding stern judgment a vast multitude of men hath been put to death with the cruellest torments. We feared the wrath of the Almighty, lest He should include us sinners in the punishment which had befallen the people of Sodom. Moreover, the day was almost done and the sun close upon setting, so we went up again from the sea to our guides and our beasts, and made ready to depart. But before departing there is somewhat to be said about this sea.

THE FAMOUS VALLEY OR DALE OF SODOM, WHERE THE
DEAD SEA NOW IS.

The nineteenth chapter of the book of Genesis tells us the origin of the Dead Sea. For there was no sea here from the beginning of creation, nor was there so much as a lake or standing water, but the river Jordan ran through that country in his bed, and watered the valley, and all the land round about this valley was pleasant and fertile, even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of Egypt, as is said in Gen. xiii. Therefore was it called the famous valley (Gen. xii.),¹ because it abounded in all good things. It was likewise called the Valley of the Forest, because it

¹ I cannot find this reference.—ED.

stood thick with trees and leaves, for therein there were fruit-trees and orchards like a forest, and great store of fruit-bearing timber. Of this we are told in Gen. xiv. It was also called the Valley of the Plain, for that on the one side of Jordan were trees, but on the other arable fields, wherefore it was called by both names, the Valley of the Forest and the Valley of the Plain. It was also called the Valley of Asphalt, or Asfalt, or Alphanites [? Asphaltites], all of which are the same, because there were in it many wells of bitumen, whereof we read in Gen. xiv. 10, which they used instead of mortar, and exceeding strong walls were built therewith. In the sands of that valley were found precious stones, such as sapphires and the like; gold, too, was found in the earth thereof, as is told in Job xxxiii., where he seems to be speaking of this valley. In this most famous and noble valley there were five great royal cities—to wit, Sodom, Gomorrha, Adamah, Zeboiim, and Belah, which is Zoar, whose names are given in Gen. xiv. 2, wherefore this country was called by the Greeks Pentapolis, from *penta*, which is ‘five,’ and *polis*, which is ‘city,’ because of the five noble cities, whereof Sodom was the head. Now, the men of that country were exceeding wicked, and sinned grievously before the Lord (Gen. xviii.), leading very shameful lives, in all abominations beyond the bounds of reason, like blind, senseless beasts, wherefore Sodom is, being interpreted, blind. Now, albeit in those five cities there was a very great multitude of men, yet were they all sinful, insomuch that in none of them were there found two righteous men; for had these been found, God never would have destroyed that land, as is told in Gen. xviii. Their chief sins were six in number, as given in Ezek. xvi. The first was pride, which is the root of all evil, which they took in themselves and [240 a] despised others. The second was fulness of bread, because they

lived riotously, ever drunken, and full of meat. The third was abundance, because they abounded in ill-gotten riches. The fourth was idleness, because their sons and their daughters, their old men and their young men, were all idle, and were made rich without labour by reason of the goodness of the land. The fifth was that they did not stretch out their hands to the poor and needy, because they were hard-hearted, and would not give shelter to any stranger, as we read in Gen. xix. that there was no place for strangers to lodge in save the common street. Indeed, they made it one of the laws of their town that no man should take in strangers to lodge in his house, because the land was a land of plenty, and many poor men betook them to that valley from strange countries, because living there was easy. But they thought the poor a burthen, and made a law that poor men and strangers should be driven forth, wherefore they put a girl to a cruel death because she had shown hospitality and had given bread to a certain poor man who begged it of her. After these five sins followed the sixth, which was the most detestable vice of Sodom, one of the five vices whose cry comes up to heaven. Wherefore the Lord said (Gen. xviii. and xix.), 'Because the cry of Sodom and Gomorrha is very great,' and so forth. Nor was there found one righteous man who was not stained with this sin, save only Lot. When he had been led out by the angel, the Lord rained fire and brimstone upon that country, and everything was burned, even down into the bowels of the earth, by the coming of that terrible fire from heaven, and the country was turned into a barren place of salt and stench even to this day. When the fire ceased, Jordan and the other brooks which run into the place of the burning filled up both the length and the breadth of the yawning pit which the fire had left when it burned up the land, and thus the salt lake was made.

Now, albeit Jordan and the other brooks bring sweet water into that place, yet is it straightway made exceeding salt, salter than the salt water of all other seas, forasmuch as it hath a quadruple cause for its saltness—to wit, a natural, a reasonable, a catholic, and a Divine one.

The first cause of the saltness of this sea is a natural one, and is the same which makes the other seas salt, as hath been shown above on page 43. About this cause Aristotle disputes in his ‘*Meteors*,’ Book II., with many arguments, where in the text he clearly makes mention of this sea and its surpassing saltness.

The second reason shows this sea to be salter than others by a reasoning founded on faith, to which a man may agree or may not. For seeing that fire from heaven hath kindled this land and hath burned it deep down, the bottom of the pit hath always remained alight, like iron heated in the fire; now, waters poured thereon are not able to quench that heat, but the heat itself renders the waters near it hot, thickens them, and boils them down into salt. For this cause all this water is warmer, thicker, and salter than any other waters, and smokes with eternal evaporation.

The third reason is drawn from the catholic faith, whereby we believe that the last judgment will be held in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and that the damned will be brought along a river of fire down the Valley of Gehenna to this place, where they will be plunged into the depths of hell, as hath been before set forth on page 170 *a* and *b*. Hence it is plain that here is the mouth of hell, according to us Christians, because we believe that hell is in the midst of the earth, and that the Holy City standeth on the mountains above it in the midst of the [*b*] earth, even as the Gentiles and poets have reckoned the Isle of Crete to be the middle of the world, and hell beneath the same. Wherefore the tears from the idol which was set upon

Mount Ida ran down into hell, as is told on page 17, Part II.

The fourth reason is because of the display of the especial displeasure of God, in His hate and detestation of the most accursed vice of sodomy, whereby He hath given up the whole place to eternal bitterness and barrenness, wherefore this place is mentioned in many places in Scripture. It is called the Dead Sea (Josh. iii.), because God gave over sinners there to everlasting death, while He swallowed them up quick by a dreadful temporal death. Or perhaps it is called 'dead' because nothing lives in it, and fish cannot exist therein, as we read in Aristotle's 'Meteorics,' Book II., and in the '*Speculum Historiale*.' Not only doth nought live therein, but whatsoever living thing is cast into it doth not sink, but is cast out again; whereas that which liveth not is straightway swallowed up. This was proved by the Emperor Titus, when he sat down before Jericho, who, having in his host some that were in prison and appointed to die, bound them and bade them be cast alive into this sea, and they, with their hands and feet tied, swam on the top thereof, and could not be sunk. This is told by Josephus in his 'Jewish War,' Book V., ch. ix. Moreover, the writer of the '*Speculum Historiale*' says that boats which are empty, or which are laden with lifeless things, are straightway swallowed up therein; but that boats with men or live beasts in them sink not. Moreover, if an empty lamp be cast in, it is swallowed up; but if it be cast in alight, it swims as long as the fire that is in it continues to burn. And many other tales of the like sort are told concerning this sea, with regard to which tales Josephus says that a false tale passes for true if it be told about the Dead Sea.

Moreover, the sea is spoken of in the Scriptures as being exceeding salt, in Num. xxxiv. and Josh. xii. For this

cause it is spoken of in the Scriptures as being superlatively salt, because no sea in the world is saltier than it, neither can any sweet water be salted so much with our salt as to come to the measure of its saltiness and bitterness.

It is likewise called the Sea of Salt in Gen. xiv., because salt can be had there in abundance, and water drawn from this sea and stood in the sun becomes salt straight-way. Sometimes it is called the Sea of Salt Pans, for that once there were many salt pans there, and might be at this day. Moreover, by this sea there are mountains of salt, and its stones are salt when broken. In the land of Moab over against us we saw a white rocky mountain, whose entire substance is salt, and whose broken stones are the best of salt, as also is the dust thereof. It is this salt, taken thus from the earth, which is properly called the salt of the earth, wherewith the Lord likens His disciples (Matt. v.), saying, 'Ye are the salt of the earth,' which everywhere is the best salt, and is of more value than salt made from water, which comes by boiling, like our own salt, or salt made by the sun's heat in salt pans, as I have often seen done on the shores of our sea. Indeed, there are various different sorts of salt to be found in the world; for in Sicily there is a salt which hardens when cast into water, but melts when brought near a fire.

Beneath the sand in Cyronia¹ there is found, especially at the waxing and waning of the moon, an aromatic salt which is very precious. In some countries there are mountains of exceeding hard salt, from which salt is scraped with iron tools, and great walls and houses are builded with blocks of salt, as, for instance, in Pannonia. We also find black salt, purple salt, yellow, or crocus-coloured salt, and salt of brilliant whiteness.

¹ ? Cyrenia, 'the parts of Libya about Cyrene.'

This sea is likewise called the Sea of Asphalt, even as before the destruction (of the cities of the plain) it was called the Valley of Asphalt or of Bitumen, for to this day there are wells of bitumen on its shore, which is dug out and sold, forasmuch as it is an exceeding strong cement for walls; and near those wells tall pyramids have been builded. There also [241 *a*] is found bitumen, which is cast on shore out of the sea by the winds, which sticks exceeding firmly together, and cannot be melted save with menstruous blood. This is called Jew's pitch, and is used in medicine as a remedy against gravel and stone. Likewise this sea vomits forth certain black clods of bitumen, all of which are proofs of the fire which burns within it, and are, as it were, the skimmings of the boiling pot below. Besides all these names, it is sometimes called in Holy Scripture the Sea of the Wilderness, as in Josh. ii., because all the land round about it is desert, and it stretches forth its tongue even to the wilderness of Paran, dividing the Holy Land from that great wilderness over which the children of Israel crossed. It is also called the Eastern Sea, in respect of the Great Sea, which is called the Western Sea; for the Holy Land is bordered by these two seas, and the width thereof is bounded by them. Sometimes, also, it is called the Newest Sea, because at the beginning of the creation it was not, but was made in the time of Abraham, last of all, after the other seas; for the other seas were created 3,272 years before this sea; therefore it is the newest. Many times, also, this sea is called the Sea of Sodom, after the capital city of Sodom, which is covered by this sea, or after the sin of sodomy, which was here punished. Sometimes, too, it is called the Sea of Devils, because of the enchantments of devils and their power in this place; for, indeed, the land all round about this sea is a wilderness, because it is infested with devils

and divers sorts of magical deceits; and of a truth, by God's permission, many things are wrought there by means of devils, such as that a feather, when cast into the sea, straightway sinks to the bottom, whereas iron swims on the top, as they say comes to pass there. It is also called the Accursed Sea, for that it was made for a curse to sinners, and that in no place in the world hath God's anger so plainly burst forth against sinners as here. Also it is called the Sea of Gehenna, because the way down thither from Jerusalem leads through the Valley of Gehenna, and the brook Gehenna runs into it, as hath been often shown above. Lastly, it is called the Sea of Hell, because the damned, after they have been led down thither through the fiery stream of the Valley of Gehenna, will be cast down into the pit. For there hell will make wide its mouth that it may take in those to whom it shall be said, 'Depart from Me, ye accursed,' etc. In testimony whereof this sea always smokes, as it were the chimney of hell, and whatever place that smoke reaches, it poisons and renders it barren on both sides of the sea; and whatsoever thing is grown there is useless. Indeed, we saw there those apples which are spoken of by Josephus and the author of the '*Speculum Historiale*,' which grow on low trees, and it seems to me that they are trees of one year's growth only, for they dry up in the winter, and grow up again in summer as high as our bluebells. Its trunk sends forth many little boughs, which bear great store of apples of the size of a big clenched fist. These apples are exceeding beauteous to behold, and rouse the appetite of him that looks upon them so that he wishes to eat them. In respect of colour, they are green in themselves, but on the side, where the sun catches them, they are yellow, streaked with red. [b] They likewise are soft, as though they were ripe for eating, but when one plucks an apple, and splits

it open, he straightway finds within it a foul and stinking stuff, which stains his hands and turns his stomach. As these apples harden, they become gray, and the stuff within them turns into ashes and dust.

Besides this, they say that this sea casts out certain most beauteous pebbles, and that if a man picks them up, his hands are dirty and stink for the space of three days. It is said to be so deep in the middle that the bottom cannot be found by letting down a lead by the longest of ropes. Its width is six leagues, and reaches from west to east, while its length reaches from north to south for a distance of nine German miles. I have spoken of this on page 199 *b* also. At times this sea swells and is strangely puffed up, yet it never overflows its borders. Indeed, many waters, rivers, and brooks run into it, such as the river Jordan, which is the chief of them, wherein, in times of rain and snow, much water is gathered together, flowing from Mount Lebanon and from the mountains of Gilboa and Gilead; and so, swollen with these additions, it runs into the sea. In like manner brooks run into it from either side, such as the brooks Cedron, Jabbok, Arnon, Careth, and many others; for the drainage of nearly all the land is brought down by these brooks into the sea, and it is, as it were, the sink of the two countries which border on it on either side; even as hell will receive into itself all the refuse of the world, so is this sea the common sewer of the land. Wherefore some have thought that this sea must have an opening in some part, through which the waters run down into a pit, or it may be into hell; forasmuch as many waters, as hath been said, run into it, yet do not come out anywhere, and yet the sea itself, albeit at times it seems to be swollen, never overflows its borders. But some think that it is joined on by hidden channels to the waters of Marah, spoken of in Exod. xv., as hath

been told on page 199 *b*. Now, here hath been given an account of the Dead Sea, drawn together from the names thereof.

THE WILDERNESS OF ST. JEROME, AND HIS MONASTERY
IN THE SAME.

So after we had looked at the Dead Sea as long as we pleased, we went swiftly away from it, because the sun was now about to set. We went northwards, beyond the beginning of the Dead Sea, not far from the place where the Jordan runs into it. After this we came into the exceeding barren wilderness of Jordan, wherein are no green things, herbs, or bushes; but the earth is sandy, scorched with the heat of the sun, and full of sandheaps piled up by the wind. We went along through these heaps and little hills to the great weariness of ourselves and our beasts, even as though we were working our way through deep and thick snow. In the sand we found the tracks of many asses, whereby we were put on our guard, fearing that in the dark we might fall in with some party of Arabs, or that they [242 *a*] might be in the place where we meant to lie that night; so we stood still, not knowing what to do. We were loath to betake ourselves to the hill country of Israel, but, as will be shown hereafter, we wished to visit a certain spot in this wilderness towards which we saw a herd of asses going up before us, up the side of a sandy hill. Seeing this, Ameth our guide straightway leaped from his horse, and his servant likewise, and, snatching up their swords and bows, they ran like stags over the sand toward the herd, meaning to get some plunder if they could; for in these lands no man is safe from attack, but the stronger chases the weaker, and takes away his arms and robs him, if he can catch him. Wherefore they make ready against one another while they are

yet a great way off, and either one company runs away, or both parties array themselves against one another, to fight, not for their lives, but for their spoils and arms. Now, after Ameth and his men had chased this herd for a long way, they saw that it was not a herd of tame asses, but of onagri, whom they could by no means catch, seeing that they are exceeding swift beasts, being wild asses, and so they came back to us empty-handed. So we went further on our way, and in the wilderness we came to the place which we sought, wherein the glorious confessor, St. Jerome, did penance for four years before he went up to Bethlehem, as we read in his legend. At this day there is here a fairly fine church, with a monastery adjoining it. We entered the church, bowed ourselves to the earth before the altar, and received (††) plenary indulgences. Then we rose from our prayers, and viewed the church and the monastery. The church has been desecrated by the Arabs and Saracens, its altars have been destroyed, and its woodwork threatens shortly to fall. The monastery is void of monks, and for the greater part is in ruins, while the chambers wherein they dwelt are the stalls of beasts wherein they enjoy the shade during the heat of the day, and it is a sort of inn. As far as I can make out from the descriptions of the Holy Land, and from maps whereon the form of the Holy Land is drawn, this place is Bethhoglah, where the children of Israel mourned for Jacob, their father, whose body they had brought from Egypt, as we read in the last chapter of Genesis. In his book on the distances of places, Jerome calls this place Areaat, and it is one league distant from Jordan. I do not believe that the wilderness of Jerome's penance was here, but that he dwelt in some wilderness in Syria; yet, out of respect for the saint, the moderns pay respect to this place as his dwelling, whereas, in the ancient pilgrim books, no mention is made of this place save under

the name of Bethhoglah. We climbed up above the cloister, and went round it with fear and danger, for the building shook under our feet as though in act to fall. There we saw beauteous paintings of Christ's passion on the walls of the church, and some monks' cells still entire. We noted that a few years before there had been a convent of monks there. Some say that this monastery was built in the time of St. Jerome, and that it always has been inhabited down to our own unhappy time; that in his days, before he went up to Bethlehem, he had a convent of religious here, and that the miracle of the lion was not done in Bethlehem, but here. This is the place wherein St. Jerome speaks of himself, in his epistle to Eustochium, as having undergone many temptations. 'Whenever,' says he, 'I am in the wilderness and the barren solitary place, scorched with the sun's heat, which affords a dwelling to unkempt monks, I used to fancy that I was in the midst of the luxury of Rome and troops of dancing girls.' In this place that blessed man wept without ceasing, brought his flesh into subjection by fasting, beat his breast day and night, and, in his anger with himself and his strict discipline, entered the wilderness and consorted with wild beasts and scorpions. When we came out of Jerusalem in the morning, we had agreed to pass the night in this holy place; but, after rambling round about the buildings and ruins, we found no place wherein we could rest, neither could we lodge in the fields without the walls, because of the uncleanness of the place; for we beheld a countless number of great bats flying to and fro, since the sun had set and it was twilight. They told us that there were many bats of another kind, in all respects like pigeons, which fly about in the thick darkness, and lie in wait especially for men. These bats fling themselves fiercely against a man's face, catch hold of his nose with their

open mouth and teeth, bite it off in the twinkling of an eye, and fly away with their prey. Men who have long noses are in greater danger than others. When we heard this, we kept careful watch over ourselves, covering our noses with our hands. We also heard the hissing of many snakes, as they came out of their holes in the walls to feed. Moreover, the place without the walls, where we had halted to lay down our baggage, was full of the holes made by snakes and scorpions. Besides all this the usual stench came from the Dead Sea, which was close to us, and it seemed to us more than we could bear to smell it all night long; and also we feared the Bedouin Arabs and Midianites, lest they might come upon us by night and trouble us. For these reasons we remounted our asses, turned our backs to the Dead Sea, and went through the darkness towards the hill country of Israel, over wide dull flats whereon we did not care to stay; but we made haste onward towards the hills. Now, when we were come to the foot of the mountains, we entered a shady vale, went up it to the top, and came to the exceeding safe place Engaddi a little before midnight. Here we found a fitting place, gave up our beasts to our servants, sat down, brought out what was left in our srips, and recruited ourselves. Where each man sat down to eat, there he lay down to sleep, and there we slept till morning in our clothes as we were, save only that we took off our gaiters and shoes.

THE ASCENT OF THE PILGRIMS INTO THE MOUNTAINS
OF ENGADDI, AND THE LAUGHABLE MISHAP WHICH
BEFELL BROTHER FELIX FABRI.

On the twelfth day as the sun rose we also raised ourselves from the ground whereon we had lain, having had a sweet and quiet sleep, because we were weary, and withal had been in a safe and clean place. Now, Ameth, our

guide, seeing that it was bright day, shouted loudly to us, urging us to climb the mountains quickly ere the sun became hot : so we hurriedly made ready. While we were making ready for our journey something befell me which, albeit trifling and of no importance, yet is a merry jest, and I have chosen to put it into my Wanderings because, as I promised on page 2, at the outset of my Wanderings, I have determined to tell not only of grave matters, but likewise of childish and trifling ones. So I sat me down, and strove to put on my boots. [243 *a*] These boots of mine were pretty tight, so that I could neither get them on or off without much strength and labour ; they were made of costly leather, yellow and soft, and reached up to my knees, like gaiters. The other knights also were shod in the same fashion, and we used these boots instead of shoes and gaiters. So having put my right boot on my foot, I gave it a sudden hard pull ; but when my foot was in it I felt beneath the sole something moist and half solid, whereat I was astounded, and feared lest a scorpion, or a toad, or a coiled-up snake might have got into my boot. more especially as it seemed to me that I could feel the movement of the beast as it wriggled under my foot. Though I feared lest my foot might be poisoned, yet I did not pull off my boot, forasmuch as all the rest were already mounted on their asses and were going up the path, and I was afraid to stay behind them alone : howbeit, I shoved my foot hard against a stone that I might kill the creature, and so mounted my mule, not without dread of poison. Now, as we went up the mountains we came to a steep and narrow pass, through which we went up one by one because of the danger of the beasts falling, nor could we all go forward together one by one, but all who were below had to wait till he who went before had got all the way up. In this place I got off my mule,

sat down, and pulled off my boot, in which I fancied some worm was lying crushed. When I put in my hand, I found some moist stuff, and I learned by the smell what I could not learn by either sight or touch, that there was no scorpion, toad, or snake, but human ordure. When I found out this, I put on my boot again with great indignation, remounted my mule downcast and malcontent, and rode after the others sorrowfully wondering within myself who it was that had shown me this disrespect and played me this scurvy trick, and which of the knights had been so irreverent as to put filth into the boots of a pilgrim and a priest. I began to suspect one of the greater nobles, who was exceeding friendly with me, thinking that perhaps his familiarity had bred this contempt. This matter disquieted me so much that I made up my mind, swore an oath within myself, and determined that I would travel no further with that company, either by land or sea, and in my heart I gave up my pilgrimage to Mount Sinai; but I told no one of what had come to pass, but went on in silence as though I were praying. Howbeit, I wronged the lord whom I suspected, and all the rest of my comrades, and I found out the doer of this deed beyond any doubt; for at Jerusalem when I took off my boot in my cell, that I might clean it and my feet and hands, and draw forth the filth that was within it, I found therein a great black-coloured beetle, at the sight of which I was at first afraid, thinking him to be a scorpion, which I had crushed together with the filth. But when I saw that he was a beetle I was glad, for now I knew for certain that no one had put the filth into my boot save this beetle. Indeed, the beetles in those parts—in German, *Rosskäfer*¹—are very large, and are hatched out of horse-dung. They fly and crawl about the roads gathering suitable material,

¹ Horse-beetle.

and when they have gathered it they make [*b*] a lump or ball of about the size of an egg. They push this egg with their hind-feet, resting their fore-feet on the ground, and so shove the ball along behind them, walking like crabs, towards whatever place their instinct guides them. When they have come to the place where their ball is to lie, they put themselves into the ball, and make it into both their house and their food. These balls are always made of foul stuff, or the dung of some beast. I have often stood still on the road, that I might watch these beetles pushing along the road balls twice as big as themselves, a thing which I have never seen in our country, though many of them are bred there from the horse-dung on the roads. So it befell in my case that the beetle found some dung, made it into a round ball, pushed it into my boot, and meant to become my guest. Afterwards I often told their lordships the pilgrims all about it, and how I was disquieted thereat and suspected them.

Eusebius in his *Praeparatio Evangelica*, Book III., ch. ii., and Book V., ch. xii., calls this beetle the scarabaeus, whereof the ancient Egyptians used to say that it was a creature loathsome to those who are unlearned in divinity, but to the learned worthy of the highest respect, seeing that it is the living type of the sun, and each individual is of the male sex. It lays its eggs in dung, then makes it up into a ball, then embraces the ball with its feet even as the sun embraces the heavens, and waits for a lunar month. This also is explained in Part II., page 137 *b*.

THE COUNTRIES WHEREOF WE HAD A VIEW FROM THE
MOUNTAINS OF ENGADDI.

To return to the subject from which I have digressed. After we had passed the night on the slope of Mount Engaddi, as aforesaid, when the sun rose we journeyed up

higher into the loftiest part of the mountains. On the highest peak we came to a place where we found many heaps of stones piled up, which is done by the Saracens in honour of Moses, for a reason which will soon be explained. So here we halted that we might view the country, forasmuch as we were in a high place, and could see far and wide over the countries both on this and on that side of Jordan, and nearly the whole of the country of Sodom. In this place I wish to give a brief description of the races of men, the countries, and the places which we saw, whereof, indeed, I described a part in my account of Mount Quarantana, page 210 *b*.

First of all, then, we cast our eyes eastward, and saw the mountains of Arabia, chief whereof stands out Mount Trimonius, which in its lower parts is called Abyrim, in its middle Nebo, and in its crest Phasca (Pisgah). It was to this mount that the Lord bade Moses go up, that from thence he might see the Holy Land, into which he might not enter, as is told in Deut. xxxiv. Beneath this mount there is a great and deep valley, which is called Galmoab, wherein the Lord buried Moses after his death, and his sepulchre no man could ever find, as is told in Deuteronomy, last chapter. Some say that Moses, when he was on the top of Mount Pisgah, and looking toward the Holy Land, beheld all the mysteries of Christ's sacraments, His incarnation, nativity, life, passion, and death, and that while engaged in this most sweet contemplation he died on the mount, and the Lord buried him and hid him in the valley, lest the people, inclined as they were to idolatry, should pay Divine honours to his body if they could find it, wherefore the devil, wishing to bring about idolatry, tried to show them the body of Moses, but Michael withstood him and forbade him so to do, as we read in the General Epistle of Jude 9. But Jerome, in his commentary upon Amos,

seems to think that Moses was miraculously caught up into heaven, even as Enoch and Elijah were, for he says, 'He builds up his ascension, he ascends with Elias and with Moses, the place of whose sepulture could not be found because he had ascended into heaven.' It was in this valley, wherein the Lord is said to have buried Moses, that Jeremy the prophet hid the holy fire, the ark of the Lord, and the altar of burnt offerings and the tabernacle, as we read in 2 Macc. ii. 5, 6.

[244 *a*] We saw this holy valley of Galmoab a long way off, on the further side of the Dead Sea, and Pisgah, the lofty top of the mountains of Abyrim. From the top of this mount there is a view as far as the land of Midian, and from it one can see Sinai and Horeb. We also saw the plain country of Moab, and above it the mount whereon Balaam the prophet, when he was hired by the King of Moab—this king's name was Agripecula, as Jerome says in his book 'On the distances of places'—when he was hired, I say, that he might curse the people of Israel, stood and blessed the people on the plain below, as we read in Numb. xxiii. Now, we turned our eyes away from the east to the south, far beyond the Dead Sea, where we saw the land of the wilderness of Petra; but Petra in the wilderness itself we could not see. This Petra in the wilderness was, in the days of old, an exceeding strong castle in the land of Moab, where was born Ruth, the virtuous Moabitess, whereof it is said in the third chapter of the Book of Ruth, 'All the people that dwelleth within the gates of the city doth know that thou art a virtuous woman.' This Ruth was the wife of Boaz, and from her in the process of her genealogy it was written that Christ should be born. Wherefore the prophet Isaiah in that same sixteenth chapter calls for Christ to be sent from Petra in the wilderness to Jerusalem, saying, 'Send Thou

forth the Lamb, O Lord, the Ruler of the land, from Petra of the wilderness to the mount of the daughter of Sion—that is to say, Jerusalem.’ Here the prophet begs for a continuation of the genealogy of the damsel that was born of Petra in the desert, wherefore in the book of Christ’s genealogy Ruth is distinctly named. Jerome says, in his epistle to Paulinus, ‘Ruth, the Moabitess, fulfilleth the prophecy of Isaiah, “Send forth the Lamb,” etc.’ The same, in his epistle to Paulla, says, ‘Ruth, the stranger, of whose seed Christ was born’; and also in his epistle to Rufus he speaks of Ruth as having been taken from the Gentiles to be their propitiation to Christ. But without considering this mystical meaning we may say that the prophet, beholding the city of Jerusalem in great straits and in the very jaws of the Gentiles, begged that a ruler might be sent to it from Petra of the wilderness, because this is so strong a castle that it cannot be taken, and many nations were subject to its lord. Thus he begs that the Lord of Petra in the wilderness may be sent to defend the daughter of Sion, which is Jerusalem, for that when he should be sent no man would presume to do Jerusalem any hurt. Baldwin II., a Latin king of Jerusalem, fenced this castle so strongly that the whole world could not have taken it. He built three walls round about it, within the first whereof rises an exceeding lofty rock of a round shape, on whose crest stand tall buildings looking afar over the land. Below, at the foot of this rock, there burst forth three living fountains of clear and wholesome water, whereby the whole castle is plenteously supplied and all the land which lies beneath it is watered. Within the second wall there are fair vineyards, of the fruit whereof wine was made in abundance. Within the third were fields and gardens, wherein used to grow great store of corn, oil, and all other things needful. The Saracens

never could have taken this noble castle had it not been betrayed to them by certain false Christians. When it was taken the Soldan who then was put his eldest born son therein, to be the lord of that castle and of the wilderness of Petra. Moreover, he laid up therein all his treasures, thinking it the safest place that he had ; and at this day it is the treasure-chamber of the Soldans. kings of Egypt.

This noble castle is called by the Latins Petra of the wilderness, by the Saracens Krach, and by the Greeks Schabat. Now, when we had gazed our fill thereon, we kneeled towards the place, praising God, who from Petra in the wilderness sent [b] to us through Ruth Christ the lord of the world, and we prayed to God that this castle might come into the hands of the Christians, and that Jerusalem might not any longer be a captive.

In this same country there is a city named Ariopolis, which also is called Petra or Petraea, and which once was the chief city of all Arabia. Not far from thence there is another exceeding strong fenced city named Rabath. It was before this city that Uriah the Hittite fell by the practice of David. When it was about to fall, David came and took it, and took away the crown from off the head of Melchon, the King of Rabath, wherein were precious jewels and a talent of gold, which David melted, and made of it a crown for himself, setting in the midst of the precious stones a sardonyx beyond compare, and put it on his head. We are told this in 2 Sam. xii. 30, 31 ; 1 Chron. xx. 2. Next to the aforesaid countries on the shore of the Dead Sea is the land of Edom, through which lies the way from the land of Israel to the land of Moab and Ammon, going round about the Dead Sea, and it is a barren waterless wilderness, wherein once three kings with their armies were like to perish for want of water, but the Lord gave them water by a miracle, as is told in

2 Kings iii.; and when they had gotten water, and were come into the land of Moab, they wasted it exceeding cruelly, as is told in the same chapter. Turning our eyes up again from these places, we saw on this side of the Jordan and the Dead Sea the place called Bethhoglah, wherein the children of Israel made a great mourning over the body of the patriarch Jacob, their dead father, which they had brought from Egypt to bury it in Hebron, in the double cave, as is told in the last chapter of Genesis. Bethhoglah is called Areaat by Jerome in his book 'On the distances of places,' and is distant one league from the Jordan. There was there, a little before our times, a monastery of caloyers, or Greek monks. Moreover, in that country we saw the city of Agrippa, which, in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Book II., ch. iv., they call Pella. The holy church removed to this city from Jerusalem, being forewarned by the Holy Spirit to betake itself to flight before the siege of Jerusalem by Titus and Vespasian, lest it should share that great disaster. Near this place, beyond Jordan, is another Bethany, where John first baptized, and in which the Lord Jesus sojourned when fleeing from Judaea, as is told in John iv. Some declare that the city called Ephraim, to which the Lord also fled for refuge together with His disciples, as we learn in John xi., was near the wilderness, beyond Jordan. In general, those who were in trouble fled out of Judaea beyond Jordan, as, for instance, David, when troubled by Saul, brought his father and mother to the King of Moab, as is told in 1 Sam. xxii. But the blessed St. Jerome saith, in his book 'On the distances of places,' that the city called Ephraim, to which the Lord Jesus fled for refuge, was in the tribe of Judah, and the tribe of Judah hath no portion beyond Jordan. [245 a] Chrysostom saith that Ephraim is Ephrata, and Ephrata is Bethlehem.

Herein Albertus seems to agree, in his commentary upon John, for he saith that the Lord came to Ephraim because He had friends and acquaintances there ; but this also does not seem to fit the text, which says that Ephraim was near the wilderness, whereas Bethlehem is not near the wilderness, unless one chooses to say that the desert places of Sodom, which reach up even to the mount of Bethlehem, are meant by the Evangelist (John ii.). We viewed many other places beyond Jordan, in the land of Gilead, and beyond the Dead Sea, in the land of Ammon and Moab, after seeing which we betook ourselves to gazing upon those which were nearer to us.

THE PLACES ABOUT THE DEAD SEA, ON THE WEST SIDE
THEREOF, AND SOMEWHAT MORE ABOUT ITSELF.

Having viewed the places which lie on the other side of the Dead Sea and of the Jordan, we fixed our gaze upon the sea itself, and wondered at the smoke thereof ; for as Abraham, when he gat him up to the mountains early in the morning, looked toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and toward all the land of the plain, and beheld, and lo ! the smoke of the country went up as the smoke of a furnace, as is told in Gen. xix., even so we, as we looked upon that country, saw a cloud going up, not from fire, but from water, like the smoke of a furnace, and all the parts which that fog and cloud wets it poisons, and renders altogether barren and useless, far and wide round about the borders of that sea, for an everlasting sign of the Divine wrath against the most wicked men of Sodom.

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Then, having viewed the Dead Sea, we saw on the shore thereof, on the hither side, towards the southern end, the place where used to stand the statue of salt into which Lot's wife, Melaseda, was turned, for that she looked back,

in spite of the angel's having forbidden her so to do, when that land of wicked men was being burned. It used to stand between Segor and the sea. This statue was a stone one of white marble, and is said to stand there still, but to be now covered by the sea. When it stood on the shore beasts used to flock to it, [b] and lick the salt off it. Besides this statue there are in that country many salt rocks and stones. We are told about this statue of Melaseda in Gen. xix., and Josephus says that he saw it. We did indeed see the place where it was—half-way between the sea and Mount Segor—but the statue itself we could not see, nor were we standing near enough to be able to make out a rock of the size of a human being. Yet we saw it with the eye of stedfast faith, because we believed the Scripture which speaks of it, and we looked at the place with great interest, and marvelled at the miracle of this wondrous and admirable statue.

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(Here some theological disquisitions have been omitted.
—ED.)

Above the place of this statue aforesaid, we saw a rock, which, as it were, overhung the sea, upon which once stood the city of Segor, one of the five cities of the Sodomites, which was otherwise called Bela, as we are told in Gen. xiv. It was to this city that Lot went up when the country below was burning, and for his sake it was spared from the fire ; but when he saw the whole country destroyed, he was afraid, and fled to the tops of the mountains. Straightway, however, after he had turned away from Segor, it was overthrown by an earthquake, fell down below with all who dwelt therein, and was burned together with Sodom.

Above Segor is a lofty mountain, to which Lot went up with his two daughters, lest he should be burned in the fire. . . . Here his elder daughter bore a child, and called

his name Moab, and his younger daughter bore a child, and called his name Ammon. From these two daughters of Lot are descended two great peoples, whereof we read in Gen. xix., and they are often spoken of in the books of Holy Scripture. We had this mountain on our side, and I merrily told their lordships the pilgrims the tale of Lot and his daughters. On our other side we had the mountains of Quarantana and the wilderness of Adammim, which are described before on page 211.

After viewing the aforesaid places, we cast our eyes upon the place where we stood, where we saw many heaps of stones, piled up by the Saracens, as I have told you on page 243 *a*. The Saracens pile up these stones in honour of Moses, because from this place one can distinctly see the mountains of Abarim and the peak of Pisgah, from whence Moses beheld the heritage of the Lord, as is told on page 243. For this cause Saracens, when they come to this place, make piles of stones, and pray, looking towards the mount on their bended knees. Thus also do the Christians, for when they can see from a long way off any place where indulgences are granted, they, too, set up crosses and heaps of stones. Not far from these heaps we saw a high and newly-built pyramid, beneath which the Saracens falsely say that Moses is buried—a thing contrary to the canon of the Bible, in the last chapter of Deuteronomy.

Thus they do in all other matters; they follow the Bible when they please, but when they do not, they obstinately contradict it, in spite of (its) truth.

[*b*] Now, the mount whereon we were standing is called the Mount Engaddi, as also are the mountains adjoining. In Gen. xiv. and 2 Chron. xx. it is called Hazezon Tamar, and it was once a country of the Amalekites.¹ St. Jerome,

¹ ? Amorites.

in his book 'On the distances of places,' says that Engaddi is in the tribe of Judah, in the wilderness which is in the valley above the Dead Sea, and he says that in its time a very great town stood there. It was to this place, Engaddi, that David fled from before the face of Saul that there he might be safe, as in a stronghold, as we read in 1 Sam. xxiv. Indeed, these mountains are lofty and rocky, pierced with many caves, and full of rifts. Among these caves there is one great one, deep and dark, which is in a wooded valley by the side of an exceeding lofty rock, and it has a wide entrance, overhung by steep rocks. This cave may well be called the School of David's Mercies, for it was in this cave that David and his armed men took refuge, hiding themselves in its innermost parts, when they heard that Saul the king was coming with three thousand men over those most precipitous rocks, which can only be crossed by the ibexes—that is, wild goats. It was jealousy that drove him forth into places which could not be come at, because he could not bear to hear the song of the people, which they were wont to sing in chorus, and wherein greater praise was given to David than to himself when they sang, 'Saul hath killed his thousands, but David his tens of thousands.' So Saul came down with his men into the valley of David's cave, and what was done there may be read in 1 Sam. xxiv.

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THE VINEYARD OF ENGADDI.

Moreover, upon these mountains there once stood that exceeding famous vineyard of Engaddi wherein grew balsam beyond all price. This vineyard was planted in this place, Engaddi, by King Solomon. The author of the *Speculum Historiale* says, by the mouth of Josephus, that the Queen of Sheba, who came to Jerusalem from the

ends of the earth to hearken to the wisdom of Solomon, as is told in 1 Kings x., brought him many precious gifts, among which was the root of the balsam, as being a gift beyond all price, which root the king planted on the Mount of Engaddi, and it was grown in the vineyard [247 *a*] there. This vineyard is mentioned by Solomon in the Song of Songs, where he says: 'My beloved is like a cluster of camphire in the vineyards of Engaddi.' This vineyard is now in Egypt, and I shall tell who it was who dug it up and transplanted it, and of the virtues of balsam and camphire, in Part II., page 68. I have read in an ancient pilgrim's book that some pilgrims to the Holy Land once wandered over these mountains searching carefully, and that in one place they found shoots of balsam, but no shrubs. Beside balsam there once grew on this mountain an excellent wine, wherewith it is believed that Lot's daughters made their father drunk, as we read in Gen. xix.; and if these mountains had any husbandmen at this day, they could bring forth most precious fruits in abundance.

RETURN TO JERUSALEM.

Now, when we had seen all the aforesaid sights, we turned away from the east, and went up the hills toward Jerusalem. In a certain hollow way the mule whereon I sat began, I know not why, to gallop and try to outrun the others, and when I would have held him back with the rein, he threw me off, and I had a very heavy fall. When Ameth, our guide, saw this, he jumped off his own horse, picked me up from where I lay, stroked my limbs, and drew the joints together, and bade one of his servants bring back my mule, which was scampering wildly about. Indeed, this heathen Gentile Moor showed me as much kindness in my trouble as the most tender-hearted Christian could have done. After I had been greatly refreshed,

he lifted me on to the mule, because I could not help myself with my arms; nevertheless, I had no limb broken, whereat Ameth wondered and rejoiced, for as the mule galloped along I fell with great force upon the rocks. I pray God that he may have mercy upon that Gentile Saracen, even as He had mercy upon me. So Ameth and I made haste after my comrades, who had gone a long way on before us, and, like them, we went up the Valley of Gehenna, where, while we were yet deep down in the valley, as we looked up out of it, we could see the holy city of Jerusalem gleaming aloft, at the sight whereof we were affected, as is told on page 215 *b*. When we were come into the Holy City, we told our brethren, who had stayed behind, all that we had seen, and all that had befallen us on our way.

THE ANXIETY OF THE PILGRIMS TO SET OUT TO MOUNT SINAI.

On the thirteenth, which is the day of St. Hippolyte and his companions, after hearing Mass on Mount Sion in the early morning, their lordships the pilgrims went away to their own place, and we took counsel about our departure, for which we were eager. It seemed to us that the chief Calinus, our dragoman, was hindering our departure from Jerusalem, and any longer delay would have been exceeding hurtful to us—not, indeed, that we were weary of sojourning in the Holy City, wherein we abode most willingly and happily, but we feared that we might miss the merchant ships at Alexandria, on board of which we had arranged to sail to Italy, [*b*] and might be forced to winter in Alexandria, which would have been beyond measure grievous to us. So we all went over together to the house of the Lord Naydan, the Governor of Jerusalem, with whom we found the Lord Vacardinus, and we were

brought into their presence. When they had heard what we had to say, they bade our dragoman, Sabbathytanco (*sic*), be called, and charged him to set out with us with all speed. After a long debate with one another, they told us that we must yet remain ten days longer in Jerusalem, after which we should without further delay begin our journey into the wilderness. 'During these days,' said they, 'provide yourselves with all things needful for the journey — biscuits, dried figs, wine, and so forth.' With these words they gave us leave to depart to our own places.

On that same day we began to prepare ourselves, and we each paid two ducats to Gazelus that he might give us a license to buy wine both from Christians and from Jews. This Gazelus is a Christian of the girdle, and bears office under the Soldan. The matter over which he is set in authority is this: That no Christian be suffered to buy wine without paying him tribute, and should this rule be broken, and he finds it out, he bursts into the places where the wine that has been bought is placed, and takes it himself, or else he breaks the bottles, and lets the wine run away. From this day forth, even till the day of our departure, we had much trouble and labour to provide ourselves with all that we needed for our journey through the wilderness, and we carried all the things which we provided to the Mount Sion, to the convent of the friars there, and put them in St. Francis's Chapel, beneath the church, and in a few days we had filled this chapel full of baskets, bags, glass bottles, and pots, and we made a great heap of things among the three companies of us. On that same day, toward evening, I and two knights went into the Valley of Jehoshaphat to manage some business. When we had finished it, we visited the holy places on the Mount of Olives, and while we were on the top thereof,

in the Church of the Lord's Ascension, the sun set, so that ere we could enter the city we were caught by the darkness, and came through the streets of the city in great terror. Moreover, we lost our way, and wandered hither and thither till at last we came to a street which we knew, and reached our own dwellings in peace.

HOW THE EVE OF THE ASSUMPTION WAS KEPT IN JERUSALEM.

On the fourteenth day, which is the eve of the Assumption of the most blessed Virgin Mary, when mid-day was past, we began to prepare for the celebration of the morrow's feast as follows: We went into the sacristy of the friars, and brought out from thence a wide linen cloth, which we carried to the place from whence the blessed Virgin was carried off. You will find an account of this place on page 105 *b*. We stretched this cloth over the place, in the likeness of a tent, with poles and ropes, hung tapestry round about it instead of walls, and made a fair chapel. We draped the altar which is in the place with costly stuffs, and adorned it with paintings, images, [248 *a*] monstrances, and candlesticks with candles. Moreover, we brought thither leafy boughs of olive and palm trees, strewn about grass and flowers, and made a beauteous holy grove. When evening was come, the Father Guardian put on a costly cope, and the precentors, the cross-bearer, the incense-bearer, and the acolytes, all in their sacred vestments, took their places in the church of the brethren, and when all was ready, we went in solemn state, walking in a regular procession from the church of Mount Sion to the place of the translation of the blessed Virgin, singing the hymn, *Et ibo mihi ad montem myrrhæ*, etc. After this was finished, we sang vespers and the compline of the

feast with loud voices in the chapel which we had made ; nor were we in any wise molested by the Saracens ; but they, hearing the noise of our singing, came to the place, and stood open-mouthed. Meanwhile, a great number of Eastern Christians collected together, who, immediately after our service was over, entered into the chapel with their own priests, and began to perform service ; and that night they celebrated Masses there according to their own rite. We, however, went into the convent, and made a plain meal, such as befits men who fast. After we had supped, we all went down together from Mount Sion into the Valley of Jehoshaphat to the church of the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin, and we led with us a loaded ass, who carried our ornaments and other things needful for adorning the place and for holding service. When we were come down to the church, we found it full of Eastern Christians, both men and women ; so we drew away from them into our own corner, where was the Latin altar, drove out from thence the other Christians who had come in thither before us, and lighted lamps, for that place has no daylight, but can only be lighted with lamps. We now hung tapestry all round our place, decked the altar, lighted many candles, and sang the full choral service of compline. At '*Salve Regina*' we walked from our place in a grand procession, circled through the sepulchre of the most blessed Virgin Mary, and so back to our own place. After '*Salve*' we disposed ourselves to watch throughout the night at the sepulchre of the glorious Virgin, and those who could not watch sat leaning their heads against the wall. But we had little rest, for the other Christians in their several places were howling their services all night long. No place was more beautifully decked out than ours, nor was any singing more solemn, for the Eastern Christians make but little feasts in their services, and they seem to wail

rather than to sing. For an account of this church, its shape, and the arrangement of its holy places, see above, page 143 *b*. Thus passed that night.

THE FEAST OF THE GLORIOUS ASSUMPTION OF THE
BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

At midnight on the fifteenth we began the service of matins, and after we had solemnly chanted this, we celebrated private Masses in the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin—that is, such of us as could find room there—but those who could not find room there celebrated Mass at the altar of the Latins. When day dawned, we sang [*b*] the service of Mass in our own place with loud voices, and we sang so loud that the voices and howls of the other Christians were not heard. When this service was over, we took down all the ornaments, and sent them on before us to Mount Sion, while we visited the holy places on the Mount of Olives, where we received indulgences. After this we went up to the Mount Sion and dined there, and after dinner we laid ourselves down to rest, because of the vigil which we had kept.

THE SOLITARY PILGRIMAGE OF BROTHER FELIX FABRI
TO BETHLEHEM AND TO CERTAIN OTHER PLACES.

In the afternoon of the Day of the Assumption, I asked the Father Guardian for leave to go to Bethlehem, and for someone to bear me company on the way; for I had a desire to be alone at Bethlehem away from the rout of the pilgrims. The Father Guardian gave me two good brethren for companions, and let me go; so we three set out together from Jerusalem secretly, without anyone's knowledge, that we might not have more companions, and we had a pleasant walk along that holy road of which I have already told you on page 164 *b*. So we came to

Chabrata, where is Rachel's tomb, and by the side of it we saw the village of Bezek, whereof we read in Judges i., where the children of Israel slew ten thousand men, and found there Adoni-Bezek, the King of Jerusalem, whose hands and feet they cut off, even as he himself had done to threescore and ten kings who crawled beneath his table, and picked up their food with their mouths. I wished to enter this village, and see the place, for, to the best of my ability, I passed by no place known to me from the canonical books of Scripture without visiting it. So we turned off to the right out of the highroad to the village of Bezek, and passed through it. It is a great and populous village, and is not inhabited by Saracens, but only by Eastern Christians, and never was possessed by the Saracens. Howbeit, this year one of the men of this village publicly renounced the Christian faith, received circumcision, became a Saracen, and dwells there at this day, a wolf among sheep. In this village there grows excellent and surpassingly strong wine, which, when drunk unmixed, though it does not hurt the head, yet has such power that it burns the entrails, wherefore one must put much water with it. I never remember to have drunk better wine.

Going forward on our way from Bezek, we came to Bethlehem, where we were very kindly welcomed by the Guardian and the brethren, and we made a good supper. After supper I was shown into a cell to rest, but while I was resting there sleep fled from my eyes; I lay on my bed completely awake for some time, and then, being weary of lying down, I arose, and wished that I were in the sacred cave of Christ's nativity, but I had no hope of my being able to enter it before midnight, knowing that all the doors were locked. Nevertheless, I went silently out of my cell, and entered the chapel of St. Nicholas, in which the

brethren say their hours. In this same chapel there is a privy way through a narrow doorway into the holy cave, which the brethren do all they can to keep secret, for fear of the Saracens and Eastern Christians, who would not suffer it, as I have said above, page 172. I went up to this door without any hope, but found it unlocked, and entered with great joy, made my way along a passage cut in the rock, and found the door at the other end also open, through which I passed into the most holy cave, which I found lighted with many lamps; and I found that the two doors, through which one passes and goes up into the church, were fast locked. Seeing, then, that I was all alone in the holy cave, I said in my joy, 'Blessed be the Lord, and blessed be all the hindrances to my sleep and rest, whereby I have been able to keep most gladsome watch beside the sweet cradle of Christ.' So I betook myself to holy vigil, and passed the hours as best I could and knew, for of a truth this place is exceeding sweet, and tends to devotion, as I have said before, and it is easy and pleasant to keep watch beside it.

VISITS TO THE FOLLOWING PLACES, TO WHICH PILGRIMS
AS A RULE ARE NOT TAKEN.

Early in the morning of the sixteenth day we celebrated Mass in the most holy cave, and after Mass went up to the place of the shepherds, described on page 173 *a*, where we sang *Gloria in excelsis* with the angels. After this we went up again into the town of Bethlehem, scanned it narrowly, and went into the monastery to dinner with the brethren. [249 *a*] Before we took our food, we went into the cloister-garth, wherein were the graves of those three men who, together with Eusebius, were raised up and brought back from the dead, as we are told in the epistle of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, to Augustine. After dinner we bade farewell

to the Father Guardian and the brethren, and went into the town of Bethlehem to the house of a certain Greek Christian who was known to one of the brethren my companions. When this man heard whither we meant to go, he let us have four asses, three for ourselves, and one for his own son, whom he sent with us to be our servant and to take care of the beasts. We now mounted and went down from the mount of Bethlehem, in a southerly direction, along the banks of the watercourse which brings water to Jerusalem. We came to a village named Bethyr, near which is such lovely country that I have not seen its like throughout all the Holy Land: for the whole valley beneath the village stands thick with fruit-trees and trees of divers sorts like a forest. This orchard they believe was planted by Solomon, and that here was his garden of delights, whereof he says in Eccles. ii. 5, 6: 'I made me gardens and orchards, and I planted trees in them of all manner of fruits.' It was to this garden that Solomon used to drive in his golden chariot, begirt with armed youths, when he would give himself up to pleasure, as Josephus tells us in his 'Antiquities of the Jews,' Book VIII., ch. iii. Into this garden he often invites his bride with songs of love, saying, 'I am come into my garden, my sister, my spouse' (Cant. v. 1). Moreover, he wishes for it a fitting air (Cant. iv. 16), saying, 'Awake, O north wind, and come, thou south; blow upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out.' Solomon was wont to pass so much of his time in this garden that, when they did not know where he was, they used to seek and find him in the garden. Wherefore, when the daughters of Jerusalem asked the bride, 'Whither is thy beloved gone?' she answers, 'My beloved is gone down into his garden, to the beds of spices, to feed in the garden, and gather lilies' (Cant. vi.). For in that garden he had planted herbs that

bear spices, and noble shrubs, such as camphire, saffron, spikenard, calamus, balsam, and cinnamon, with all the woods of Lebanon, myrrh and aloes, and all the chief spices, as we read in Cant. iv. There were also vines and nut-trees there. At this day the spices have failed, but there remain the trees bearing oranges, pomegranates, figs, olives, mulberries, nuts, and apples, like a delightful orchard, which seems to suit the verse of Cant. iv. 13, 'Thy plants are an orchard of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits.'

KING SOLOMON'S POOLS.

When we had seen these delightful gardens, we went up from them along the bank of the little rill whereby they are watered, in such sort that the watercourse, wherein the waters run to Jerusalem, was on our right hand, and the channel, whereby the waters which water the aforesaid garden run down, was on our left. Thus we went up between them, and came to three great pools lying one below the other. These pools, they say, are those which Solomon speaks of in Eccles. ii. 6, 'I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees.' This wood that bringeth forth trees is the aforesaid garden, into which water is led through a channel from those pools.

These pools are very great, and have been made with exceeding great labour with sharp iron tools, wherewith the hardest rock and stone has been hollowed out and hewn away both crossways and longways in the midst of a valley, which is overhung on both sides by tall and rocky mountains. These pools are so fashioned that living water runs into the first and topmost one and fills it : from this the water runs down into the second, which is beneath it ; and from the second it runs into the third. From this it runs through a watercourse into the garden of delights ;

and from this same pool another watercourse takes water even to Jerusalem, to the side of the temple, where it bursts forth, as is told on page 227 *a*. But the water which runs on beyond the gardens through the valley where the city stands runs down to Sodom, and through the wilderness of Tekoa, which is bordered on the south side by the wilderness of Maon. Herein is the Mount Carmel, which belonged to Nabal, the man to whom David, when he was fleeing before the face of Saul, sent to ask for bread and water, which he, with insult, refused to him. Therefore David was wroth, and went up against him and all his house; and had not Abigail, the wife of Nabal, interceded for him, he would have cut them all off, as we read in 1 Sam. xxv. Above these pools, on the opposite side of the mountains, we saw more than six hundred infidels digging and working to bring new waters to the old ones in Jerusalem; for water has been found among the mountains of the wilderness, not far from Hebron, a long way off those pools, which water the Soldan is striving to bring into Jerusalem, at great charges and with vast toil, by wise industry, and many clever and subtle devices, leading a watercourse through the hollows of many mountains, through cuttings in the rock and clearances of stones, for a distance of eight German miles, down a slope made by measurements in due proportion. Moreover, he is renewing the old watercourses, is making many tanks for the storage of rain-water, and leaves no means untried to give water to the holy city of Jerusalem, sparing neither expense nor labour. Herein the King Soldan hath deserved no slight praise, for Solomon, in Ecclus. xlviii. 17, when he is praising the mighty works of famous men, praises King Hezekiah for that he brought in water into the midst of the city of Jerusalem, he digged the hard rock with iron, and made wells for waters. For doing this the

same King Hezekiah is praised in 2 Kings xx. 20, and 2 Chron. xxxii. 30.

Yet the work of Hezekiah was not like this work of Cathuba the Soldan, who has not merely dug into the rock that he may bring the water of the upper spring of Gihon into the city, but is cleaving mountains a long way off that he may bring water thither. This has also been spoken of on page 141 *a*. Both Saracens, Jews, and Christians wonder what in the world the Soldan means to make of Jerusalem, that he should spend so much and do so much to supply it with water. The Saracens think that he means to transfer the seat of government from Babylon of Egypt to Jerusalem. The Jews hope that when Jerusalem has been rebuilt he will give it back to them. But the Christians are of opinion that perchance he is about to resume the faith of Christ which he has renounced, and to restore to them the city of Jerusalem and the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. May Almighty God put it into his heart to do this thing, for which we ought never to cease to pray to God. But if he chooses to remain still in his perfidy and apostasy, nevertheless Christians are bound to pray to God for him and for his long life, forasmuch as he is Lord of the Holy Sepulchre and King of the Holy Land, and deals very kindly and gently with Christian pilgrims. Thus did the patriarchs of old when they were in the Babylonish captivity; they prayed and offered sacrifice for the life of Nebuchadnezzar the king, who, notwithstanding, had brought them into captivity, burned the temple, and destroyed Jerusalem. This is shown in Baruch i. Thus the Apostle (1 Tim. ii.) bids us make prayers and intercessions in churches for kings of the Gentiles, and for all that are in authority, that the faithful may lead a quiet and peaceable life under them. Also in 1 Esdras vi. 31 they are bidden to make prayers and

offerings for the life of Darius the king, and for his children.

This work which the Soldan is doing was begun by Pilate, the Governor of Judaea, and he spent all the Corban, that is, the sacred treasure of the temple, to bring water from a distance of two thousand furlongs. When the Jews rebelled against [250 *a*] the work because of the spoiling of the treasure, Pilate was wroth, slew a great multitude of Jews, and went on with his work; but as even then the Jews would not be quiet, he left off out of fear of the Emperor. About this one may read in Josephus' 'Antiquities' (viii. 8) and 'Jewish War' (ii. 3).

Now, when we had gone up as far as the middle pool, we saw beside it pavilions and tents, wherein dwelt the architects, clerks of the works, overseers, and masters, who there arranged how the watercourses should be dug through the mountains. Round about these pavilions many Moors and Saracens were running to and fro, playing with one another, and of them we were sore afraid, lest they should come up to us and annoy us. There was especial fear about me, because I alone was a pilgrim marked with the cross, and had no safe conduct. Howbeit, no one came to meddle with us, but we went up in peace along the borders of the three pools. At length we left the pools and turned away to the right, climbed up a hill-slope, and came into a plain country full of fields, wherein corn had this year been harvested. Among the hedges on this plain a wandering Arab, armed with a sword and a spear, met us, and set himself against us in the path, forbidding us to pass unless we paid him the toll which was his due: for the Arabs say that all travellers are in their debt, and are all bound to pay dues. One of the brethren who was with me said to him in the Arab tongue that we were poor men, and were not bound to pay anything to any man; but the Arab,

pointing to me with his finger, said : 'Though you two may be poor men, yet this man with the cross is a pilgrim, and a stranger in the land, and is bound to pay me toll.' Saying thus he ran at me, and snatched hold of the bridle of my ass, meaning to force me to pay ; but that brother wrangled furiously with him, and threatened that if he would not let me go he would go down into the valley to the lords who were in charge of the works, and would complain to them. When the Arab heard this he let me go and fled from us. We now saw a church in the midst of this plain, toward which we hastened. This is the church of St. George the Martyr. We entered it, said our prayers therein, and received indulgences(†) for seven years. At the side of this church there was once a great and fair monastery of caloyers, but now it has been laid in ruins, and there remains only a little hovel, leaning against the church, wherein two Greek monks dwell. At this place St. George the martyr was taken prisoner and laid in bonds for the faith of Christ ; for he had come from Cappadocia into Syria, where he slew the dragon near Beyrout, from which place he journeyed hither to Judaea, where he was taken prisoner, and hence was led to Lydda, where he was martyred, as is told above, page 84 *b*. Near the church is a stony place, where lies an exceeding hard and wide rock, in which those two monks showed us the marks of a horse's hoofs, as though the rock had once been soft and had received the print of a horse which passed over it. They say that these marks were miraculously imprinted on the rock by St. George's horse. When we had seen these marks we went again into the church into the shade, and those two monks [*b*] brought out a chain, which they declared was that with which St. George had been bound. We kissed this chain, and put it round our own necks out of devotion. The Saracens also greatly venerate this, as

do they also the footprints of the horse on the rock, and sometimes sick people among the Saracens are made whole again by touching this chain. Indeed, all Orientals have an especial reverence for St. George above all other saints, and one may say that all the churches of the schismatics are dedicated to him. Now, the two monks brought us biscuits, water, and salt, and we made a meal with them. They freely gave us all that they were able, though they were schismatics, so we ate and drank in that church, and were well refreshed. We stayed there for about two hours, and carefully viewed the ruins of the monastery.

THE WATER WHEREIN THE EUNUCH WAS BAPTIZED.

After this we left this place and, going on our way, came to a hillside, from which living waters burst forth in many places, which is an uncommon thing in Eastern lands. Above us on the heights we saw the remains of a ruined castle, which in the days of old was called Bethsura, and was an exceeding strong fortress, whereof I have spoken on page 189 *b*. From hence we went on towards a most fertile valley, not far from the house of Zacharias, which is mentioned in the same page. In this valley we saw many houses, and orchards planted with fig-trees, vines, and olives. At length we came to the bank of a stream of living water, which bursts forth from the hill and runs vehemently down into the valley along the road. So we went up the road to the place from whence it takes its rise, where we found great remnants of a ruined church, which stood there in the days of the Christians: for this is the place where Philip baptized the *Æthiopian*, the eunuch of Queen Candace, as is told in Acts viii. Now, Candace was Queen of *Æthiopia*, a kingdom which is always ruled by women, and all its queens were called Candace, even as all the Kings of Egypt were called Pharaohs, and all the

Roman Emperors were called Caesars. Some say that she was queen both of Egypt and of Arabia, because when the family of the Pharaohs failed in Egypt it was succeeded by the Candaces, as we read in Boccacus's book 'On Famous Women,' chapter 41. This queen was a devout woman, and sent her Æthiopian eunuch, the guardian of all her treasures, with many gifts and offerings to the temple at Jerusalem, that he might pray there and offer the gifts. When he had done this, he remounted his chariot, that he might return to his own country; and so eager was he about things Divine, that even while sitting in the chariot he was reading the Prophets. At the bidding of the Holy Spirit Philip came up to him, taught him, and baptized him in this place. So here we bent our knees, said our prayers, and received indulgences (†). Afterwards we sat down beside the fountain, brought out from our srips the food which we had brought from Jerusalem, and ate bread and drank of the water, which is bright, cool, fresh, and wholesome. So famous is this fountain that rich and honourable men ride out thither from Jerusalem for pleasure and refreshment. While we were thus sitting by the fountain many Saracens passed by; for the high-road leads [251 a] that way into Gaza—that is, into Africa, as we are told by the gloss on the passage, and also by the writer of the *Speculum Historiale*. Nevertheless, not the smallest hurt was done us by any man soever. To those who stopped beside the fountain and drank we gave some of our bread, and very many Saracens sat down with us. At last there came one with a basket full of most excellent and sweet grapes, to whom we showed our srips full of bread, which exchange pleased him much, and so we ate and drank in that place with them even unto the going down of the sun. Of this place Bede says in his commentary on the Acts of the Apostles: 'Bethsaro or Bethsura is in the land

of Juda, on the way from Elia to Hebron—that is to say, from Jerusalem to Hebron, at the twentieth milestone, near which there is a fountain at the foot of the mount, bursting forth from the same, and swallowed up by the same ground from which it springs. It was in this water that Philip baptized the eunuch.’ Now, after we had well refreshed ourselves in that place, we mounted our beasts, and rode swiftly towards Jerusalem, because we hoped that same night to be let into the Lord’s sepulchre. Had we not had this hope, we would have stayed with the brethren at Bethlehem for some days, or would have passed a night in the desert of St. John the Baptist, mentioned above, page 192 *a*, which we should have liked much to do: for it seems to be an exceeding great pleasure to behold the caves wherein John dwelt as a young child, and to sojourn therein; but yet our longing to enter the holy sepulchre was stronger upon us. As we went along, we gave up our visit to St. John’s wilderness, to the house of Zacharias, to the Church of the Holy Cross, and to Simon’s house, all of which have been already spoken of, and hastened toward Jerusalem. When we were come to the vineyards on Mount Gihon, and already had the Holy City before our eyes, lo! some women who worked in the vineyards gathered together and stood in the road with stones, forbidding us to pass unless we paid them toll. We caused them to be questioned as to whether they were Arabs or Saracens; and when they answered that they were Saracens, we forced our way through the midst of them, and told them with scorn that toll was due to Arabs and not to Saracens. They very angrily flung stones after us, and called after us with insults. When we were close to the city, there met us some great infidel lord, with many followers, and a great company of armed men on horses and mules; and those who went before this host told us

that an Emir was following them. On hearing this, we straightway jumped off our asses, and so stood by the wayside until they had all gone by. Indeed, had we not dismounted from our beasts, they would have cast us down from them with anger and insult ; for the custom of this country is that poor men, countrymen, pilgrims, and mean people, should [b] thus give place to nobles and rich men when they meet them. Wherefore, as soon as the mean man or the stranger sees a nobleman coming to meet him, he dismounts from his beast until that lord and his retinue shall have passed by ; and if he does not dismount, the servants of the lord pull him off by force. If two rich men meet, he that is less rich, who wishes to defer to the other, does not dismount, but draws up by the wayside with his beasts until the other passes by. But if a rich citizen meets an armed noble—for example, if a Saracen meets a Mameluke—then the honour which the rich man shows to the noble is that he pulls aside out of the road, draws his feet out of the stirrups, and lets them hang down. Unless he does this, the armed man knocks him off his horse. So after that lord was gone by we remounted our asses and entered into the Holy City to the Mount Sion. When we were come there, we learned that pilgrims would not be let into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and I was sorry that I had not stayed at Bethlehem for two or three days.

On the seventeenth, which was the twelfth Sunday after Trinity, within the octave of the Assumption, I had a desire to celebrate Mass in the place where the most blessed Virgin Mary died, and I carried out thither all things needful, and decked an altar, with a friar to wait upon me. But while I was standing at the altar in the open air, there fell an abundance of dew, which wetted the *corporale*, the fine linen cloth spread over the paten, wetted

the palls and the book, and made the sacramental wafer as liquid as unbaked paste, so that I could by no means elevate it, and I got into great trouble with that Mass. In these countries it seldom rains, and the sky, especially in summer-time, remains clear, but ever at sunrise a plenteous rain of dew comes down from the heavens, by which moisture the greenness of the earth is preserved. After dinner the pilgrims met together to consult about our journey through the wilderness.

On the eighteenth day before sunrise I went down to the fountain of Siloam ; but hearing within it a noise made by some Saracen fullers or tanners who were there, I turned away from the holy fountain, and did not make bold to go in thither ; nevertheless, I washed my face and eyes in the stream which runs from it, and from thence I went down to the midst of the brook Cedron, up whose dry and rocky bed I made my way even to the Church of the Sepulchre and Assumption of the blessed Virgin Mary, which I found open, and rejoiced thereat. So I went down the stairs into the church, and found it full of Greek Christians, who were holding a service on that day, and singing the praise of the holy Mary. I stood awhile at their service, and watched their ritual and customs. Thence I came up again from the church, and entered the grotto of the agony of our Lord Jesus Christ, [252 *a*] wherein I found a choir of Armenians, who were holding a service there and praising God with their discordant chants. I remained with them for a little while, and wondered at their fashion of divine service. When I came out of the grotto I went up to Galilee, and from thence along the ridge of the Mount of Olives I came to the Church of the Lord's Ascension, which I entered, and found therein a choir of Jacobites praising God with music which was strange to me. Moreover, Abyssinians or Indians likewise came thither to hold their

services, and Nubians were waiting there for the same purpose; indeed, the whole Mount of Olives was crowded with Eastern Christians on that day, but what the cause of this gathering of Easterns on that day was, I do not know. I went about, the only Latin Christian among these Easterns, and no one did me any harm, nor did they drive me away from their services; but they wondered at me, and gazed curiously at me, my dress, and my ways. These aforesaid Easterns are all as a rule black, and differ from us in colour, dress, language, ritual and customs. From the place of the Lord's ascension I went down to Gethsemane, and sought exceeding diligently for the rock bearing the imprint of Christ's body, which it received when Christ was taken prisoner there, but I could by no means find it. For an account of this rock, see page 146 *a*. After this I went up again to Mount Sion to dinner.

On the nineteenth I obtained leave from the Father Guardian to visit the castle of Emmaus, and begged him for someone to bear me company on the way. The Father Guardian was loath to let me go, declaring that the road was dangerous; howbeit, because of my importunity he gave me leave, and bade two brethren and one Saracen bear me company. We went out of Jerusalem together, by the way along which the two disciples, Cleophas and Luke, went on the day of the Lord's resurrection, when the Lord Jesus appeared to them in the form of a pilgrim, and their hearts burned within them as He talked with them, as we read in Luke xxiv. Howbeit, we came in peace to Emmaus, and there kissed the spots for which we longed, whereof I have spoken before, on page 90 *b*. We viewed the ruins of this town with fear, for since it is on the way which leads down from Jerusalem to the sea, it is seldom free from robbers, who beat passers-by. St. Jerome,

in his book 'On the distances of places,' says that it once was a fine town, as its ruins also prove.

From thence we went up to the Mount Shiloh, whereof also I have spoken on page 90 *a, b*, where we wished to visit and see the holy places; but before we could get there the Saracens, who have houses on the top, met us, and drove us away with stones. When we had come down into the valley, we went to the foot of another mount, and climbed to the top thereof. This mount is called the Mount of Martyrs, forasmuch as one Leo¹ buried there the corpses of thirty thousand martyrs, whom Chosroes, King of the Persians, slew for their faith in Christ, as we read in the 'Ecclesiastical History.' When we had seen these things, we went back to Jerusalem in peace through the Vale of the Terebinth, and so passed that day.

On the twentieth, early in the morning, four brethren of the convent came to my cell, and asked me to come with them to Bethany. So we set out, and when we were in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, we saw my lords the other pilgrims coming down from Mount Sion, carrying with them all things needful for celebrating Mass, and when they came up to us, they said that they also wished to go to Bethany. So we all went together up the Mount of Olives, and down the other side thereof into Bethany. Here we celebrated Mass in the Church of St. Lazarus upon the tomb of that saint, but with great fear, because Saracen youths stood round about us, whom we dared not drive away from the service, and they kept looking into the hands, face, and eyes of the priests who were consecrating the elements. We feared lest there might befall one of them what once befell one of the Minorite friars when he

¹ In Fabri's time this story seems to have been told of a man named Leo; the older pilgrims tell it of an actual lion.

was celebrating Mass at Bethlehem, for while he was in the act of celebration, and had already by his consecration prayer turned the bread into flesh and the wine into blood, lo! of a sudden, a young Saracen ran up to the altar, snatched up the chalice with the sacramental wine, and drank it, after which, with a loud laugh, he ran back again to his own people. O damnable ignorance! O blinded darkness! O senseless folly! O over-weening rashness! O pitiful and perilous outrage! Howbeit, by the protection of God, nothing of the kind happened to us in this place, for we finished our services all peacefully, and, after we had visited the holy places at Bethany and on the Mount of Olives, returned to Jerusalem.

[*b*] On the twenty-first day, early in the morning, I went down to the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, and said my service before the door; moreover, I looked at the Lord's monument through the hole in the door. In that same hour came armed Moors, with bows and lances, bringing along with them with much disturbance two men whom they had taken prisoners, and they locked them up in the prisons which stand before the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. These prisons I have spoken of on page 124 *b*. So I stood before the door with great fear, dreading that they might vent their rage on me also; and I waited, holding the door, until they had gone away from the prison, since I could not get out of the courtyard without passing close to them. I stayed there for more than two hours, and then went up to Mount Sion for service. After dinner all the pilgrims met on Mount Sion, and we divided the things that we had bought into parcels of equal weight. After we had done this I went down with them, and when we were come to the tower of David, whereof I have already made mention on page 104 *a*, we stood still, and viewed the castle. When the son of the

governor of the castle saw us standing there, he made a sign with his hand that if we pleased we might follow him, and see the tower from the inside. So we followed the young man, and crossed the bridge over the ditch, which can be drawn up and let down. He led us in through two iron gates into the court of the castle, wherein women were sitting sewing. [253 a] As soon as they saw us, they covered their faces, and hid themselves. The young man led us up to the top of the walls and towers, and to all the chambers round about, and we wondered at the thickness of the walls, and the number of the towers round the circuit of the walls. This place is built after the fashion of the strong castles of Germany, with walls, battlements, and many loopholes for military engines to shoot through. It stands upon a projecting rock on the west side of Mount Sion, and has upon its southern side a deep valley, which divides Mount Sion from Mount Gihon, and which goes up from the brook Cedron to the Fuller's Field. On the west side also it has a valley which once was a deep ravine, but now is nearly filled up; and it once had a deep ditch all round about it, but this ditch, being never cleaned out, is now filled up, and the governor has now planted a kitchen garden therein on the eastern side. Yet, notwithstanding this, there is no place so strong and so well fortified as this castle in all Jerusalem. Whether this castle is that which the Scripture calls the stronghold of Sion, or the city of David, authorities are not agreed; but this much we know, that David fortified the Mount Sion, and the city on the mount was called the city of David, which sometimes was all spoken of together as the stronghold of David, as in 2 Sam. v. Yet I have with especial care marked three places in which there once stood towers and strong walls upon Mount Sion. The first of these is on the eastern side, where stands the convent of the brethren. There is

no doubt that here was the tabernacle of David, wherein he placed the ark of the Lord, and here was his own dwelling, whereof we read in 1 Chron. xvii. The second place is on the western side of Mount Sion, where standeth this castle of which we are now speaking. The third place is not on Mount Sion, but over against this citadel, toward the west, above the city of Jerusalem, near the gate of the merchants in the Fuller's Field. In this place there are great ruins, which they say are the remains of the tower of David. If there were a fort there at this day, all the city might be protected thereby. But I believe that there was nothing there before the times of the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus, who enlarged the city, but that after the enlargement of the city a fort was built there, and long ago destroyed. So, after we had seen the castle, we went back to our own place.

At sunset I went up with some of the brethren to the choir of the old church on Sion, whereof I have spoken on page 98 *b*, and marked the singular height of the Mount Sion, above all the mountains round about ; for the mountains of Arabia beyond the Jordan and the Dead Sea, which are very exceeding high, seem low in respect of the Mount Sion. The rising sun lights up the head of the Mount Sion before all the rest, and withdraws his rays from it last. This I have often seen. Indeed, down from the Mount Sion to the eastward it is one continued descent for about five German miles to the Dead Sea. In like manner towards the west the ground slopes down for many miles to the country of Palestine. Thus the Mount Sion hath the pre-eminence over all mountains, as is told above on page 108 *a*.

THE GATHERING OF PEBBLES AND THORNS IN THE
HOLY PLACES OUT OF DEVOTION.

On the twenty-second I rose early, before sunrise, and having said matins I stole out of the convent alone, and rambled off to the holy places on Mount Sion, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and on the Mount of Olives. In each of these places I picked up pebbles, marked them, and put them into a bag which I carried with me for this purpose. [b] Moreover, I gathered some of the thorns which grow in the hedges on the side of the Mount of Olives, and of the Mount Sion, and I bound twigs of them together, and wove them into a crown of thorns in the way, and of the thorns wherewith I believe that the Lord Jesus was crowned. (See page 113 *a*.) All that day I laboured at gathering stones and cutting off branches of thorns, and I bought an oblong basket, into which I put these branches of thorns, and the pebbles which I had picked up at the holy places, and brought them home with me to Ulm. Let no one think it useless or childish for me to bring pebbles to our country with me from the holy places, for I read that the holy men of old did so. In 2 Kings v. 17, we read that Naaman the Syrian begged Elisha the prophet to let him carry away from the Holy Land as much as two mules could carry, that he might bring it into his own land, and might build an altar there of the stones, whereon to sacrifice to the Lord of heaven. If, therefore, he held this land so precious because of the temple which was built there, the prophets who dwelt there, and the miracles which had been wrought there, how much more ought it to be valued by us, both because of these things aforesaid, and also because of the most precious footprints of Christ, of the most blessed Virgin Mary, and of the Apostles and martyrs, because of the

priceless blood of Christ which was shed therein, His cross, and His sepulchre, because He hath hallowed it by the splendour of His glorious resurrection, and with the fire of His Holy Spirit! By no means, therefore, and in no wise, do pieces and bits of stone brought from that illustrious land deserve to be despised or cast away, but to be gathered up with great devotion, and placed among the chief relics of churches; and not only the earth itself and pebbles or bits of stone, but also beads and rosaries, rings and symbols in rosaries, which have touched the holy places are in some sort hallowed, and made thereby more venerable and precious, as is set forth on page 36 *a*. Neither is it we Western Christians alone who do this thing, but the Eastern Christians from the furthestmost parts of the East collect these pebbles in the Holy Land, and carry them as it were to the gates of Paradise as most respected relics. I have heard and read what is even more to be wondered at, to wit, that Eastern Christians make pilgrimages to Rome, break off pieces from the churches of St. Peter and of St. Paul, and take them away for relics even to the Eastern ocean. Some even cross the Alps and sail down the Rhine to Cologne, that they may see the church and sepulchres of the three kings, their countrymen, and they cause pieces of this church and sepulchres to be given to them, or get them themselves if they can, which pieces afterwards, when they have returned to their own country, they set in gold and silver, among the most precious stones, and wear them in rings or brooches on their fingers, or hung round their necks. As for rings or jewels which have touched the sepulchres, they keep them with great care as valuable relics, and they pay wondrous respect to those pilgrims who have wandered from the East to Cologne when they return, and hold them to be most valiant knights. There can be no doubt but that

could the Easterns endure the cold of our country as well as we can endure the heat of the East, our Cologne would never be without Eastern pilgrims: for we see in what troops the Hungarians come to Cologne at the times when the relics are displayed at Cologne and Aachen. Moreover, it sometimes happens that pilgrims from the countries of the three kings come to Jerusalem in their companies at the time when our pilgrims visit the same from the West, and then through an [254 *a*] interpreter they ask our people whether there is any man there present from the land of Cologne, and if they find one, they buy of him all the things which they can get from him, more especially such things as were made in the city of Cologne, such as purses, laces, hats, shoes, and any clothes, even to shirts. For all these they will pay double, and take them away to the East for relics. Should anyone chose to sell them any rings or jewels which have touched the bodies of the holy kings, he will receive tenfold the price thereof, and should anyone have pieces of the church or of the sepulchres of the three kings, and choose to sell them, he will receive in exchange for the same precious stones, gold, and silver. Furthermore, they inquire diligently of our pilgrims through the interpreter about the position of the country of Cologne, the size of the city, the cathedral church, and the sepulchres of the three kings, and they devoutly write down what they hear in answer word for word in their note-books, even as we note down the position of the Holy Land, of Jerusalem, and of the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre.

Often many Easterns form a party and essay to make a pilgrimage to the West, but ere they reach our lands they faint and die; yet such of them as succeed in making a pilgrimage to the West and get home again are always held in high respect. If, then, the Easterns so greatly reverence the land of the three kings, wherein their monu-

ment stands, what wonder if we Westerns show honour to the land of the sepulchre of the Lord, the King of all kings? Thus I passed this day with no small sweatings and toils, picking up little stones at the holy places. On this same day, also, I bought three costly cloths for our sacristy, wherewith to cover the chalice when it is being carried out by the subdeacon, and when he holds the paten aloft: one of these cloths is white, another blue, and the third yellow. I carried these cloths to all the holy places, and often spread them out upon the Lord's sepulchre, upon the rock of the cross, upon the sepulchre of the blessed Virgin, on the Lord's manger, and elsewhere, to the end that by touching these holy places they might themselves become holier, and therefore of greater price.

A GENERAL AND LAST PILGRIMAGE ROUND THE HOLY PLACES.

Early in the morning of the twenty-third, before daylight, all the pilgrims met by appointment in the courtyard of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to make one last general round of all the holy places in Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. So by working very hard we visited the holy places in the city, in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and on the Mount of Olives before dinner. After dinner we made the round of the holy places in the Valley of Siloam, the Mount Gihon, and the Mount Sion, both above and below. When it was dark, we were led into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, where we made the wonted procession to the holy places, and watched that night beside the Lord's monument.

THE SIXTH AND LAST ENTRANCE AND VIGIL AT THE HOLY SEPULCHRE IN THE ANASTASIS; THAT IS TO SAY, THE CHURCH OF THE LORD'S RESURRECTION.

[*b*] On the eve of the twenty-fourth day, at the request of the pilgrims, we were again let into the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, and during that night we visited the holy places with more devotion and in greater numbers than we had ever done before, because of our near departure and separation from them. When day dawned, being the thirteenth Sunday after Trinity and the feast of St. Bartholomew the Apostle, we sang the service of Mass in the Lord's sepulchre, and I was appointed to sing the Mass. So I stood wearing my sacred vestments in the inner cave of the holy sepulchre, beside the most holy tomb, which was made ready as an altar, and I sang with a loud and cheerful voice, while the convent and the pilgrims stood without and made the responses to me. It was with great joy that I sang this service, and it seemed to me that my voice was clearer and louder than ever before. I glory not a little, I trust not in vain, because of this Mass, forasmuch as I believe that not for many years, perhaps never, has any brother of the Order of Preaching Friars sung Mass in the Lord's sepulchre save me alone. I rejoice at this day that so great a grace hath been especially reserved for me; I pray that it may make me acceptable unto Him who in this place rose from the dead.

When Mass was over, we ran hither and thither about the holy places in the Lord's temple, and bade them farewell with tears, for it was hard for us to leave those sweet, and by us dearly-beloved places, because of the many pleasures which we had received at those holy places through kissing the same. When we had done with kissing the holy places we looked for the Moorish lords to come

and cast us out of the church, as they had always done before ; but they delayed a long while, whereat we wondered and were cast down, fearing that perchance they meant to keep us imprisoned there, and had trumped up some false charge against us. Meanwhile, the slave of the chief Calinus came to the door of the church and told us through the hole therein that Master Calinus, our dragoman, was ready, and was waiting with asses and camels to bring us out of Jerusalem to begin our pilgrimage to Mount Sinai. When we heard this, we became all the more impatient at our long imprisonment ; but about mid-day the Moorish lords, who keep the keys of the Lord's sepulchre, came and let us out. We straightway went to our own places, hurriedly dined, and made ready for our departure, in the manner which is set forth after the history of the two temples and of the city of Jerusalem.

Here endeth the whole of the pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

Although, from what hath been said, some scattered account of the city of Jerusalem may be gathered, yet in this place I shall more particularly describe it and its present state, not telling of what it has been from the days of old, but how it stands now. Many descriptions of this city may be found in its ancient form, as, for instance, in Josephus's 'Jewish War,' Book VI., c. viii. Moreover, the author of the *Speculum Historiale*, Book XXVI., c. ciii., and Master Antoninus in his *Chronicles*, Part II., vol. xvi., cc. xiii. and vi. ; also in the *Supplement to the Chronicles*, Book VIII., p. 15, and Brother Burcard, of the Order of St. Dominic, in his little book describing the Holy Land, have all given an exact account thereof. Some, both of the ancients and moderns, have drawn its figure, upon paper, and thus both in writing and in drawing the appearance of this desirable city may be seen, whereof I

also will endeavour myself to give some account. If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning ; may my tongue cleave unto the roof of my mouth if I be not mindful of thee. Now, to the end that I may be able to do this more clearly, I have added to my account of the Holy City an account of the Temple of the Lord, which they call Solomon's Temple, and of the Temple of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which they call the Anastasis. For without a description of these two temples the condition of the Holy City cannot be set forth, seeing that all good and all evil to the city hath proceeded from these temples, and in the words of Chrysostom, all its building up and all its casting down, all its holiness and all its wickedness, depends upon them. Moreover, these two temples, together with their courtyards, occupy a great part of the city, wherefore they must have their share in a description thereof.

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE HOLY CITY OF
JERUSALEM IN ITS MODERN CONDITION,
BEING THE SIXTH AND LAST CHAPTER
OF THE FIRST PART OF THE BOOK OF
WANDERINGS.

[255 a] That most noble and ancient metropolis, the city of Jerusalem, began its existence in the year 2242 from the creation of the world, 2,957 years before the incarnation of the Word. It was built straightway after Noah's flood by his eldest son Shem. This Shem, according to the tradition of the doctors, lived until the times of Abraham, and was Melchisedek, the King of Salem, as we are told by Jerome in his Epistle to Evagrius, the author of the *Speculum Historiale*, and Josephus, Book I., page 178. After the flood, by the direction of God, he came to this place and built a temple there, which he called Salem—that is, being interpreted, 'Justice,' or 'Peace,' or 'Consummation of Perfection,' or 'That which takes away death.' For Melchisedek was the first and chief priest of the Most High God, making offerings of bread and wine in the temple which he had built on Mount Calvary; and from him also the most holy patriarch Abraham was thought worthy to receive a blessing, as we read in Gen. xiv. About this priest I have told you already on pages 123 and 116. To learn how great he was, see Heb. vii.

Now, this man dedicated and consecrated this place to God, so that the city has been holy from his time even to

this day ; nor has God ever suffered sinners to dwell long therein in peace, as is clear to one who reads through the whole Bible history, the chronicles, and the legends.

But reason argues that even in the times of our first parent Adam there must have been some sort of oratory on the place Calvary on the mount of the Holy City, because as to Adam was revealed the Redeemer of the human race, and the manner and time of the Redemption, so also to him was revealed the place thereof. Since, then, he could not behold the Redeemer in his own lifetime, and had not strength to remain alive till the days of Christ, he splendidly honoured the place of the redemption, and frequently visited and prayed there, both he and his sons. At last, when he saw that the time of his death was at hand, he removed from Hebron, where he had a dwelling, went up to the place Calvary, and there paid the debt of death, because he knew the Christ, the second Adam, would in that place do away with the death which he had brought into the world. His sons bore his body to Hebron, to the double cave, all save the head, which remained in the place Calvary, wherefore his sons treated that place with respect. We may believe also that as Shem, the son of Noah, had a temple here after the flood, even so there was an oratory here before the Flood. Here, also, Abraham sacrificed a ram instead of his son. This we are told by Hebrew tradition, by Ambrose and Chrysostom, by Jerome and the chronicles. And although the commentary on Matt. xxvii. says that those who assert that Adam was buried at Calvary do not speak the truth, yet this does not contradict what we say, for we admit that his body was buried in Hebron, as we are told in Josh. xiv., but his head remained on Mount Calvary, God having so appointed it, and Adam, when dying, having begged his sons so to do. From all this, I conclude that even before

the flood there was at the very least an oratory and a temple on the site of the city of Jerusalem, not without human habitations. The place Calvary was ever held to be especially sacred down to the times of the Romans, who, out of hatred for the Jews, appointed it to be the place for the torture and execution of criminals. But by Christ's death there all its holiness was restored to the place, and will hereafter abide there for ever. For the place itself see pages 115 and 130.

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According to the diversity of persons and times, this city has received divers names. It is called 'Salem' in Gen. xiv. 18; and by the poets it is sometimes called 'Solima'; and 'Jebus' in Josh. xv. 8; 'Jerusalem' in Judg. xix. 10; 'Hiero Solyma' in Matt. ii. and Luke; 'The Threshing-floor of Ornan,' 1 Chron. xxi. 18; and so also it is called by Jerome 'On the distances of places'; 'Ariel,' by Isa. xxix.; 'The Daughter of Sion,' Zech. ix. 9; 'The Bloody City,' Ezek. xxii. 3; 'Sought out, a City not forsaken,' Isa. lxii. 12; 'A Strong City,' Isa. xxvi. 1; 'The City of God,' Ps. lxxvi.; 'The Throne of the Lord,' Jer. iii. 17; 'Great among the Nations,' Lam. i. 1; 'Princess among the Provinces,' Lam. i. 1; 'The Valley of Vision,' Isa. xxii. 1, on which passage consult De Lyra's Commentary; 'Sodom,' Rev. ii.; 'The Tower,' Matt. xxi. 33; and Aelia, from the Emperor Aelius Hadrian. Moreover, Jerome very often—one may say always—calls it Halia; and at this day the Greeks call it Halia and Capitolia, as does also Ptolemy. It is likewise called 'Algariza,' that is, 'The Exceeding High Mountain,' by Eusebius. The Saracens call it 'A Kossa.' But we Latins call it either Jerusalem, or Jerusolyma, or the Holy City, or we give the whole city the name of a part thereof, calling it the Holy Sepulchre.

This city has always been less than the largest, yet greater than the lesser cities, and at this day it is of such a size as not to be overgrown through greatness, nor yet straitened through smallness, being no smaller than our own Augsburg in Suabia. On this subject see page 226 *a*. The extent of the walls whereby it is now enclosed is the same as it was left by the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus, as will be proved hereafter. For its extent see above, page 225 *a*.

In the old time there were many gates leading into this city, but we gather from the Scriptures that there were eight main gates, and if we read of there having been more, this is caused either by one and the same gate having more than one name, or by there having been little posterns beside the main gates, to which posterns these names belonged. In modern times I have not been able to find more than five gates. Toward the east it has the Golden Gate, which now is blocked up, and for an account of which see above, page 141 *a*. Between the east and the south there is the Dung Gate, described above on page 226 *a*. On the south side it has the Fountain Gate, through which one goes down to the fountain of Siloam. To the west it has the Merchants' Gate, or Fish Gate, spoken of above on page 92 *b*. On the north is the Gate of Ephraim, which is called St. Stephen's Gate. There is a long distance between the Fish Gate and St. Stephen's Gate, because the Fish Gate stands near the corner where the south wall joins the west wall, [256 *a*] and all along the west wall there is no other gate till one comes to St. Stephen's Gate, which stands in the north wall, near the corner where it joins the east wall. St. John in the Revelation, ch. xxi., saw twelve gates in the heavenly Jerusalem, a number which this city never possessed.

Along the circuit of the walls and battlements there

once were towers, whose ruins we can trace; but the Saracens have cast them down, and have built other towers within the city, near the mosques, for use in their ritual; for they do not trouble themselves about the fortifications of cities, but watch exceeding narrowly over the entrances into the country. The wall and battlements of old used to measure thirty-three furlongs round about, as Josephus tells us, Book V., ch. viii., and of old it was strong and double, as may be read on page 225 *b*. It has ditches on the west and north sides; on the east side it has the Valley of Jehoshaphat; on the south side it has the Valley of Sion.

Within, the city is hilly and uneven, being built upon a height. The Mount Sion overtops all the rest, and on the northern slope of Mount Sion stands a great part of the city. On a shoulder of Mount Sion rises Mount Calvary, which supports the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, together with a great part of the city. There also is the Mount Moriah, whereon stands the temple of the Lord and the main part of the city; wherefore one goes up and down everywhere throughout the city. But these mounts do not run up into lofty peaks, but are themselves the wide-topped peaks of the great main hill whereon the city stands, which causes it to be uneven. This entire hill is spoken of in the seventy-eighth Psalm: 'And He led them into the mount of His salvation, the mount which His right hand had won.' As the city of Basle is hilly, even so is this city; for in Basle St. Leonard's Hill answers to Mount Sion, St. Peter's Hill to Mount Calvary, and St. Martin's Hill to Mount Moriah—albeit, in shape and configuration there is much difference between the one and the other.

A great part of the city, as aforesaid, is taken up by those two often-mentioned and most famous temples—the

temple of the Lord, which they call Solomon's temple, and the temple of the Holy Sepulchre—together with their roomy courtyards, and the buildings adjoining them. Besides these, there are scattered throughout the city many chapels of heretics, many Saracen mosques, Jewish synagogues, and Samaritan tabernacles. The main streets are vaulted over, and beneath these vaults on either side stand merchants' shops or cooks' kitchens; in the other streets dwell working people.

The houses of the city are, as a rule, built with stone walls, though some poor men's hovels are made of mud. I have seen some large and goodly houses therein, but a great part of the city is laid waste, and the houses stand in ruins without any inhabitants. For this cause the dead bodies of camels, horses, asses, dogs, and the like are not taken without the walls, but are cast into the waste places within the walls among the ruined houses. Yet in the parts where men dwell there are many people gathered together from every nation under heaven, as we read in Acts ii. 5. Indeed, there are more than five hundred Jews, and more than a thousand Christians, of every sect and country; but the fewest of all are they of the Latin rite.

It has no water of its own, save what falls upon it from heaven, or what they laboriously bring thither through watercourses, as I have told on page 249 *b*. In the city there are many places to store up water—pools, reservoirs, and endless cisterns and gutters—so that there is a sufficiency of water therein. The King of Egypt, the Soldan, is lord there, and he appoints governors to rule the people of the land, dragomans [*b*] to rule strangers and pilgrims, both Christian and Jewish, and Mamelukes to rule the men of war; thus he rules the people with a civil power which is despotic. All who read the Scriptures and books of history know that this city from its beginning even until

now has undergone many misfortunes ; it has been often burned ; one nation has overthrown and cast out another ; and often it has been ruined down to the very foundations. It was laid waste by Nebuchadnezzar, King of the Babylonians ; after that by Asobeus, King of the Egyptians ; next by Antiochus ; and after him by Pompey. After these, Herod the Great and Sosius took the town, but did it no hurt. Afterwards, after the Lord's passion, Titus utterly overthrew it, and cast it down, breaking up the foundations thereof. Yet he left some of the strongest towers and the west wall standing, that posterity might see how strongly fenced a city had been won by the valour of the Romans, and to serve as a castle for those whom he decided to leave there as a garrison for the country. At this destruction the misery of the city and of her children was so great that no man can read the account thereof given by Josephus without shuddering. The cause of this disaster and massacre was the cruelty of Florus the prefect, who had plagued the Jews in Jerusalem with countless torments, till in their rage they essayed to rebel against the Romans, and, rising in revolt, slew many of the Romans, and drove Cestius, the Governor of Syria, out of the province. But in the city the Jews themselves were partisans, were divided into three factions, and, before the Romans came, cruelly murdered one another within the city, set it on fire, and strove with one another day and night in implacable sedition. The determining cause of all these ills was the beheading of John the Baptist, the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth, and the murder of James the Apostle, all of which is set forth at length in a piteous discourse by Josephus in his book on the 'Jewish War.'

After the destruction of the city, which was wrought in the forty-second year after the Lord's passion, the place

became a den of robbers and murderers for many years, down to the time of the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus, who, hearing of the disorder of the place, came hither, A.D. 124, cast down the part that had been rebuilt, and drove out and slew the evil-doers. Yet, as he afterwards made up his mind that a city ought to stand there, he came back again, A.D. 139, and both rebuilt and enlarged the city, enclosing within its walls the places of the Lord's passion and resurrection, as will be more clearly explained hereafter, and made a new city, which he called Aelia after his own name.

After this last building we do not read of its being utterly destroyed, but often of its being partly ruined and its people led into captivity; nor has it ever been moved from its place, as Gregory seems to declare in his homily on the text, 'Jesus, when he saw the city, wept'; but it has been enlarged, as will be told presently, and has often been told already.

Now, albeit this holy city has been afflicted by many unheard-of disasters, nevertheless neither its beginning nor its position have ever been forgotten, but it abides for ever as an eternal testimony among all the nations of the earth. Far different is the case of the other most famous cities of the world, to wit, Rome and Troy; for no one ever could learn with certainty who was the founder of the city of Rome, because of the disagreement of those who treat of its origin, as we are told by the writer of the 'Wonders of the World' that Sallust says that it was built by the Trojans, Eusebius that it was built by Romulus, other writers that it was built by others, and so no man knows at what time it began to be a city; whereas the founder of our holy Jerusalem and the time of its foundation can be proved from Holy Scripture, as aforesaid. But admitting that the parricide Romulus did found Rome

by plunder and robbery, as Orosius tells us of him, yet was it founded a long while after Jerusalem, in the time of Hezekiah, King of Judah, [251 *a*] two thousand two hundred and thirty years after the foundation of the city of Jerusalem, seven hundred and fifty-one years before the birth of Christ, in the year of the world 4484. It is a wonder that the origin of so great a city should be unknown. Jerome in his epistle to Paulinus alludes to this when he says, 'This age brought forth a notable marvel, and one unheard of in former times, that men who had entered into so great a city should seek something that was outside of the same.' Troy, according to Homer ('*Iliad*,' iv. 44), was the noblest of all cities beneath the sun and the starry firmament, yet it has been so destroyed that Ovid could say, 'Cornfields now wave where Troy once stood.' And what is more, no man now can tell where Troy used to stand. That great Troy, once the bulwark of all Asia, has been so utterly ruined and brought to nought that neither its corpse nor any trace thereof can be seen; moreover, they say that the place beside the Hellespont, whereon some suppose Troy to have stood, is out of all proportion too narrow for a famous city to have been able to find room there. But not thus is it with our Jerusalem, which was founded four hundred and eighty-three years before Troy, and is a notable city to this day. Troy was founded in the days of Ajoth (? Ehud), the judge in Israel (Judg. iii.); some say that it was built beside the Hellespont, and some in Dardania by one named Tros; it was destroyed in the two hundred and fiftieth year after its foundation, at the time when Abdon judged Israel, about which judge see Judg. xii. For an account of Troy see Part II., page 174.

Now, Jerusalem is one of the most ancient cities in the world, as is clear from what is said on page 255, being

older than Treves by one thousand and eight years, than Troy by one thousand four hundred and eighty-three years, than Rome by two thousand two hundred and thirty years, and it endures even to this day, because the Lord hath chosen it. Wherefore it is said in the Psalm, 'For the Lord hath chosen Zion ; He hath desired it for His habitation. This is My rest for ever : here will I dwell ; for I have desired it' (Ps. cxxxii. 13, 14). Also in 2 Chron. vi. 5, 'Since the day that I brought forth My people out of the land of Egypt I chose no city among all the tribes of Israel save this.' And in another place, 'I have chosen Jerusalem that My name might be there for ever.' Yet someone might say, 'I admit that Jerusalem was a chosen and holy city before the Lord's death ; but after so great a crime was done there it does not seem to deserve to be called holy, but rather profane and unclean.' This is answered by Jerome in his Epistle to Haedibius on the subject of the Lord's cry upon the cross, where he says, 'Let no man think it strange that after the Saviour's death Jerusalem should be called the Holy City, since even to the time of its destruction the Apostles always entered the temple and performed the ceremonies of the law for the sake of the believing Jews. The Lord so loved Jerusalem that He wept and lamented over it, and when hanging on the cross said, "Father, forgive them!"' Thus Jerome. Moreover, in the Epistle of Paula and Eustochium to Marcella he discusses this matter at great length, and says much in praise of the Holy Land and of Jerusalem.

* * * * *

THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD, WHICH IS CALLED SOLOMON'S TEMPLE, HALACHIBIS AND BETHEL.

The city of Jerusalem is rendered glorious and holy by its temples, to which to a great extent it owes its size ; for

if the two temples with their adjoining chapels and mosques were taken away, nought would be left save a sorry village, and this thing may be seen in our own cities also. If the churches, monasteries, and chapels, with all the buildings appertaining thereto, were taken away from Cologne, only a small town would be left ; and so likewise is it at Venice ; were the monasteries and churches taken away, there would not be much of the town left.

Now that I am about to speak about the temples of Jerusalem, I must tell you first about the oldest one. We know from Holy Writ, that when the Lord promised the land of Canaan to our fathers, He hinted to them that there was in that land a place which He would choose for a temple and for sacrifices, and which in [b] His own good time He would show to them ; wherefore we read (Deut. xii.), ‘When ye shall have come into the land which the Lord your God shall give you, overthrow all idols from every place. Ye shall not make altars and sacrifices in every place, but unto the place which the Lord your God shall choose to put His name there, even unto His habitation shall ye seek, and thither shalt thou come, and thither shall ye bring and offer all your burnt-offerings and vows. Take heed that ye offer not your burnt-offerings in every place, but only in the place which the Lord shall choose ; thither shall ye go up with your first fruits and your tithes, and there you shall confess yourself before the Lord your God.’ Where this place was the Lord did not declare until the time of King David, to whom an angel showed the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite on Mount Moriah. This Araunah was a Gentile, a Jebusite, who was rich, and owned a great part of the city. So David bought from him the threshing-floor which had been shown to him, and there at the bidding of an angel he set up an altar, and charged Solo-

mon his son to build a temple in that same place. See 2 Sam. xxiv. ; 1 Chron. xxi. ; and especially 2 Chron. iii.

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[258 *a*] So in the fourth year of his reign Solomon began to build that temple which was famous throughout the world, and finished it in eight years, as is told in 2 Chron. ii. This temple was built in the year 4169 from the creation of the world, 1033 before the birth of Christ, 1480 after the coming of the children of Israel out of Egypt. The length of this temple was sixty geometrical cubits, its width twenty, its height six hundred and twenty. He caused all the inside to be gilded with plates of gold, and to be paved with precious marble ; moreover, there was a brazen altar built therein, measuring twenty cubits in length. See a fine description of this temple in Cusa 'On * * *',¹ Book IX., ch. iv.

The vessels which were needed for the service of the temple were all made of the finest gold. Moreover, Solomon brought into it much gold and silver, which David had consecrated to it. After all had been duly accomplished he dedicated the temple to God in a splendid service, and brought into it the ark of the covenant of the Lord, wherein were only the two tables of the covenant, the pot of manna, and Aaron's rod. Hereafter it was not permitted to offer sacrifice anywhere save in this temple ; albeit, the people for a long time afterwards used to offer sacrifice on high places, a sin for which the kings of Jerusalem are often reprov'd, namely, that while the temple was standing they nevertheless did not take away the high places. Now, after four hundred and forty-two years had passed since the building of the temple, Jeremiah the prophet, seeing that its end was at hand, took out from it the ark of the covenant, carried it across Jordan to the valley

¹ Sic in orig.

beneath Mount Abarim, which is called Galmoab, as has already been told on page 243 *b*, where by his prayers he caused it to be enclosed in the rock. Writing with his finger on the rock, he imprinted thereon the name of God in four letters, and made a seal like one that is carved with iron. This name of God is so hidden by a cloud that from without no man can find the place, neither can any man read that name to this day, nor will any man to the end of the world, neither can any man bring forth the ark from thence save only Moses and Aaron. This we are told in 2 Maccab. ii., and in the *Speculum Historiale* before the end of the story of Tobit. After the ark, which was the glory of the temple, had been taken away, came Nebuchadnezzar, who took Jerusalem, with Zedekiah the king, burned it, together with the temple of our Lord, as we read in 2 Kings iv., and led away the people captive to Babylon. After this the place of the city and temple remained desolate for seventy years, until the time of Darius, King of the Persians, who suffered the Jews to rebuild their temple, a work which was finished in the reign of Cyrus, forty-six years later, as we read in John ii. 20. But this temple was not like the first temple in splendour; wherefore the Jews who had seen the first temple wept, as we read in Ezra iii. 12. Now, these foundations were laid in the time of the princes Zerobabel and Salatiel, five hundred and twenty-five years before the birth of Christ.

This temple, albeit often plundered and desecrated by the Gentiles, and its wooden parts burned, yet stood entire down to the golden age of our Lord Jesus Christ, who preached wondrously therein, and worked miracles, as the sacred history of the Gospel tells us. It is clear from Mark xiii. 1, 2, etc., that this temple was a stately building raised aloft upon great stones. It remained standing for forty-two years after Christ's passion.

The whole time, from the second year of Darius, King of Persia, when the foundation of the temple was laid, down to its destruction by Titus, is reckoned to be five hundred and ninety years. From the foundation of Solomon's temple down to its final destruction by Titus, is reckoned to be eleven hundred and two years.

As for the reckoning of these years : first, from Adam to the flood was two thousand two hundred and forty-two years ; from the flood to Abraham was nine hundred and forty-two ; from Abraham to Moses, who brought Israel out of Egypt, is reckoned five hundred years ; from Moses to Solomon, and the first building of the temple, five hundred and twelve years ; from Darius to the time of Christ's preaching in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Caesar, was five hundred and forty-eight years. All these years, up to the time of Christ's preaching, make five thousand two hundred and eighteen. Isidorus says that when the Jewish kingdom and priesthood was brought to an end, Christ was born in Bethlehem in the forty-second year of Caesar Augustus, who would then have had fifteen years left if he reigned fifty-seven years. After him Tiberius reigned for twenty-two years, and in his fifteenth year Christ was baptized, being then thirty years old. Christ was crucified in the nineteenth year of Tiberius's reign. Ambrosius says : ' From the creation of the world to the foundation of Jerusalem was four thousand four hundred and eighty-four years ; and from the foundation of Rome to the nativity of Christ was seven hundred and fifteen years.'

When Titus besieged Jerusalem he first of all burned the temple and afterwards the whole city. He overthrew the walls of the temple down to their very foundations, caused the mount whereon it stood to be cut away, and ordered it to be cast down into the brook Cedron, and filled up the ditches thereof, levelling it with the earth, as we read in

the 'Jewish War,' Book VII., ch. xvi., and in many other places.

[*b*] Josephus says that in this utter destruction of the city eleven hundred thousand Jews perished by famine and the sword, and that another hundred thousand prisoners were publicly sold for slaves, because the city was full of Jews who had collected together to keep the Feast of the Passover. No Christian was present at these disasters, as we read in Eusebius of Caesarea's 'Ecclesiastical History,' Book III., ch. iv., towards the end. The Church, which had been gathered together at Jerusalem, was bidden by the voice of God to leave that city, and remove to a town named Pella, for which see above, page 244, beyond the Jordan, to the end that, after all just and holy men had removed thither out of the city, there might be full scope for the Divine vengeance to be wreaked both upon the sacrilegious city and on the impious people by the blotting out of their country and its destruction. When the Romans left the city of Jerusalem, after having levelled it with the ground, the Jews who had been in hiding-places came back thither, built huts, and set up a lowly oratory in the place where the temple once stood. The Church also came back thither from Pella to serve God there; but the Jews, whose spirit even then was not sufficiently broken by their misfortunes, raised riots, whereby they daily vexed the faithful people and Gentiles who dwelt there, for they were exceeding cruel murderers, and shed fresh blood over Jerusalem, which now lay felled to the earth and weltering in gore. In this wretched state the place remained for about seventy-six years, when Aelius Hadrianus became Emperor in the year of our Lord 119. Hearing that Jerusalem, which had been dead, was again stirring, he hastily crossed the seas, and came thither. He found there many people, both Christians and Jews,

who were at variance with one another because of the difference of their religion, while he, being a Gentile and an idolater, hated both religions alike. Wherefore in the place where the Jews had built their oratory, where once the ark of the Lord had stood, he placed a statue in his own image that he might render the place loathsome to the Jews; while in the place of the rock of Calvary, where the crucifixion took place, he set up a statue of Venus, and in the cave of the Lord's sepulchre an idol of Jupiter, that he might make those places hateful to the Christians. As for the murderers and robbers whom he found there, he put them to the sword, drove them away, and sold many of them for slaves, broke down the forts and walls which had been left standing at the time of the destruction of the city, ruined everything, and went his way, leaving there behind him governors of the province. When these men turned their back upon the province that they might return to Jerusalem with their army, the Jews gathered together to the place where Jerusalem had stood, and, having taken counsel together, tore up the column of Caesar, which bore his image, and cast it out of the temple. When the Emperor learned this, he was wroth. He set aside all his other business, and returned to Jerusalem in haste, slew what Jews he found there, and sold many of them for slaves, drove them all a long way beyond the borders of the Holy Land, and by a public interdict forbade any Jews to enter into that land. As he saw that the place was meet for a city, he became milder of mood—more fierce than ever against the Jews, but kindlier toward the Christians. He cleared the site, caused the ruined walls on the west side to be cast into the ditch, levelled the ground, enclosed the place of the crucifixion and the rock of the holy sepulchre within a wall which he built round the city, and caused a temple of Venus and

Jupiter to be built thereon. Above the Fish Gate, or Merchants' Gate, he set up a sow or pig carved in marble for the confusion of the Jews, that none of them might presume to enter there. The city remained in this state for about one hundred and eighty years. Since the place of the temple of the Lord was rendered hateful and strange [259 *a*] to those who did not worship idols by reason of the statue of Caesar, so also was the place of the Lord's crucifixion and resurrection, so much so that those places became forgotten. But in the year 38 (*sic*), when Constantine the Great had made himself Emperor, and had become a Christian, Helena his mother found the cross, cast out the idols, and built a temple over the holy places. The condition of the Christians was now improved, while that of the Jews became daily worse, and so the Christians served God in Jerusalem with great peace for sixty years. In the year of our Lord 363, that disturber of the peace of the faithful, Julian, came to the throne, who was an apostate from the true faith and from the profession of religion. When he heard that there was at Jerusalem a stately church and a great assemblage of Christians, he came thither, and took an opportunity of displaying his hatred of the Christians. He laid hands upon St. Cyriack, the bishop of the holy city of Jerusalem, who had found the holy cross, and crucified him because he had preached of the cross's glory. When the Jews heard this, they came together with joy and merry-making; they gained Caesar's favour by many gifts, and made the Christians even more hateful at his court. After thinking how he might vex the Christians, he determined to exalt the Jews; and calling together the leading men and magnates of the Jews into his presence, he asked them why they did not offer sacrifice to their God, seeing that their law commanded them so to do. They, thinking that

they had found an opportune time, answered : ' We cannot offer sacrifice according to our law save only in the temple of Jerusalem, not here or there. We beg you of your clemency to grant us leave to build a temple in the right place, and therein we will offer sacrifice for your safety and that of the empire.' When the Jews received leave to rebuild the temple, they rose to such a pitch of frenzy that they spread it abroad everywhere that Julian, that most wicked apostate, was the prophet promised to them in their law. So the Jews flocked together from all places and countries, and set to work on the place where the temple had been burnt. The Emperor granted to them an officer of his court to see the building carried out, public and private money was given to it, and the work was pursued with all diligence. Meanwhile, the Jews began to insult our people, and, as though the days of their kingdom had come back, they threatened the Christians fiercely, dealt cruelly with them, and were altogether puffed up with over-weening pride.

The Church at Jerusalem was at that time governed by Bishop Cyril, a holy man. Now, when they had opened up the foundations, they brought thither great stones, lime, mortar, and wood, and nothing was lacking so that on the morrow they might not cast forth the old foundations and lay the new ones. But Cyril, the bishop, after careful consideration, either from what he had read in the prophecies of Daniel about those times, or else from what the Lord had prophesied in the Gospel, firmly declared that in no-wise could it come to pass that the Jews should lay one stone upon another in that place. All was anxious expectancy. Faint-hearted Christians feared, strong ones had no doubt but what the Jews would carry out their design. Miracle ! Lo, on the one night which remained ere the work should be begun, a great earthquake took place,

and not only were the foundation-stones scattered far and wide, but the whole of the buildings on the place were levelled with the ground ; the houses wherein the Jews dwelt with the workmen were cast down, and those within them crushed to death. When day dawned, and they believed that they had escaped from this disaster, the rest of the people came running to search for those who had been crushed. Now, the house was sunk down in the lower parts of the temple, having an approach between two colonnades, both of which were overthrown, wherein the iron tools and other things needful for the work were kept. From this place there [*b*] suddenly flashed forth a ball of fire, which ran down the street, burning and slaying the Jews whom it met, and moving to and fro. This it frequently did, again and again, throughout the whole of that day, and by its avenging flames restrained the rash attempts of the obstinate people. Then with exceeding great fear and trembling all who were present were forced by their terror to confess that Christ was the only true God. Lest this should appear beyond belief, on the following night there appeared on the clothes of all the Jews so plain a mark of the holy cross that even those who in their unbelief tried to wash it away could in nowise do so. Thus both the Jews and the Gentiles were made afraid, so that they left the place and the works which they had begun and went back to their own homes full of confusion.¹ From that time forth the Jews have

¹ See Warburton's work entitled 'Julian ; or, A Discourse concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated the Emperor's Attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, in which the reality of a Divine interposition is shown ; the objections to it are answered ; and the nature of that evidence which demands the assent of every reasonable man to a miraculous fact is considered and explained.'

Commenting hereon, Sir J. F. Stephen remarks : 'The principal witnesses are Ammianus Marcellinus ; some ecclesiastical historians, as Socrates and Sozomenes, who lived long afterwards ; Ambrose and Chrysostom, who mention the matter very briefly, and of whom

never dared to attempt any building on the site of the temple. So the place stood for a long while without any temple.

Now, as to when and by whom this temple, which stands at the present day upon the holy threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, was built many men have wondered. The writer of the *Speculum Historiale*, when speaking of the rebuilding of the temple after its burning, says: 'No man knows who built the temple of the Lord, which now is called Bethel.' Some say that it was built by Helena after the finding of the cross, together with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; some by Heraclius, when he brought the cross back in triumph from Persia; some by Justinian, some by a certain King of Egypt in honour of *Halachibis*—that is to say, 'God Most High.' That this is true I have found faithfully declared in a truthful history, the 'History of Antoninus,'¹ Part II., titulus xiii., ch. iv., § 4. In the year of our Lord 619, two hundred and forty-three years after Julian, the Emperor Heraclius, after having reigned and governed the empire prosperously for many years, brought his reign to a bad end, for he lapsed into the Monothelite heresy, and on the death of his wife defiled himself by incest; wherefore Hamor,² King of Egypt, the successor of Mahomet, entered Syria and Palestine with countless forces of Arabs, and snatched everything out of the hands of the Christians. During these disorders, the holy city of Jerusalem was

Ambrose was living at a distance; and Gregory Nazianzen, who gives a full account of the matter, and was in the neighbourhood at the time.—'Horæ Sabbaticæ.' Macmillan and Co.; 1892.

¹ St. Antoninus of Forciglione, an Italian theologian, born at Florence A.D. 1389, died in the same city A.D. 1459. He was a Dominican monk of the convent of Fiesole. Pope Eugenius IV. made him Archbishop of Florence. Pope Adrian VI. canonized him. Among many other works he wrote 'Summa Historialis sive Chronica, tribus partibus distincta, ab orbe condito ad annum 1459' Venice, 1480; Nürnberg, 1484, etc.

² Omar.

taken by the infidels, and he made the Christian people therein subject to him. While Hamor was sojourning in Jerusalem, Sempronianus, the Christian Bishop of Jerusalem, became familiar with him, so much so that Hamor entered the Church of the Holy Sepulchre with him to see its decoration. While he was conversing with the bishop, Hamor asked him where the place was on which once stood the temple which had been destroyed together with the city by the Roman prince Titus. The bishop led him to the threshing-floor of Araunah, which then had been covered with common houses, and pointed out to him the place of the Lord's temple by some traces of the old work which still remained. Hamor gave orders that the place of the threshing-floor should be cleared, assigned a sufficient sum of money to meet the expenses, and set workmen to rebuild the temple. But when the foundations were laid, they presently sunk out of sight, and the walls could not be raised. While Hamor was wondering at this, he was told by a certain soothsayer that as long as a certain lofty cross remained standing upon the Mount of Olives over against the temple, the building would not hold together, but that if that cross were taken away the temple would stand. The Christians had set up a lofty cross on the Mount of Olives, over against the city, and often prayed beneath it. Their prayers, by virtue of the cross, were so powerful that the infidels could never build up the temple of their own perfidy save when the cross was taken away and the prayers had ceased. Had the Christians been brave enough to have preserved that cross from the infidels, this temple never would have been built ; for I believe that the cross was set up by the saints for a sign of protection to the city of Jerusalem, lest temples of a strange worship should be set up therein. I can boldly declare that had this temple not been built, the Christians never would have

lost Jerusalem and their own church ; for the Saracens are so jealously fond of this temple of theirs, that while it stands the Christians can have no peace in Jerusalem : wherefore it would have been better to tear it up from its foundations than to dedicate it to the name of Christ, as has often been done. The aforesaid cross is described . . . the account of the temple follows. So (Hamor) finished this temple in no very long space of time, and endowed it with great possessions. This temple stands in its place at this day, and has stood for more than eight hundred years. It has never been destroyed by anyone, but at first it was an oratory of the Saracens ; afterwards, when the Christians began to bear rule in the land, they dedicated the temple to Christ, whereas they had better have ground it to powder and utterly done away with it, seeing that it is the church which caused the loss of Jerusalem. Again, when the Saracens took the city, they brought back the temple to the use of their worship, and thus from time to time the temple has come into the hands now of the one party, and now of the other, and at this day the Saracens hold it in exceeding high honour, as I shall show. Thus it is, since this temple was built by the infidels, albeit I have often read in little books of the pilgrims that it was built by the blessed Helena. But when I looked narrowly at the [260 *a*] temple, this did not seem to be true, seeing that it is altogether built in the infidel fashion, and has not the shape of a Christian church, for its main door opens from the east, a thing which I have never seen in the churches of Christ.

HERE FOLLOWS THE DESCRIPTION OF THE MODERN
TEMPLE OF THE LORD.

The temple of the Lord, built by Hamor, King of Egypt, upon the threshing-floor of Araunah, the Jebusite, whereon

Solomon built a house of the Lord, is a building which is not equal to that most famous ancient structure of Solomon. The infidels call it Halachibis, learned Christians call it Bethel, common and unlearned Christians call it Solomon's temple. It is a noble and exceeding costly building, great and round, after the fashion of a great and wide tower. Enclosing the round part there is another wall built upon the ground, which wall goes round about the whole temple, and between it and the temple there is a wide space. This wall supports one side of a vault all round, the other part of which vault rests upon the wall of the temple itself, or rather upon columns from which the higher part of the temple rises up; for within there is a circle of marble columns, above whose capitals arches reach all round the circuit; and above the arches there is built a high wall all round the circuit. Now, the outer wall, which encloses the columns within itself, is as high as the columns themselves, and from it, as I have said, a vault arches over to the columns. All round the circuit in the outer wall there are great oblong glazed windows, like those in churches, and the space between one window and another is as great as the window itself. This space on the outside is painted in mosaic in an exceeding costly fashion, so that the field of the picture gleams with gold, while the picture itself consists of palm-trees or olive-trees, or figures of cherubim, for they will not suffer any other pictures or carvings on their mosques. The higher part of the temple, which rises from the columns which stand within, is built up high in the air, as though it grew out of the aforesaid wide surrounding aisle. In this upper part there are continuous windows all round, each touching the other; but these windows are shorter and smaller than those in the lower story. On the top it has a vaulted roof covered with lead, which once was gilded, as can well be seen at the

present day. On the very top of the roof there stands a horned moon, with the horns uppermost, such as they put upon all their mosques ; for on the top of all their churches or mosques they set a moon on its back like a boat. One interpretation of this is that the Mahometans try to walk along a middle path, so as neither to appear to be Christians nor Jews, and yet to have some connection with both. The Jews put nothing particular over their synagogues, and we do not read of Solomon's temple having had any device on the top ; but Christians from their first beginning have set up a cross with a cock on the spires of their churches. So in order to differ from both, the Saracens have cast away the cross and have retained the cock on the top of their buildings, without the cross ; but as even with the cock they seemed to be imitating the Christians, they have changed the cock into a horned moon lying on its back, an easy change, because a cock with his head and tail set up has the shape of a moon on its back. Wherefore, wheresoever there are cocks upon churches, they say that they are moons. So likewise in all their rites they have made certain alterations, that they may be unlike us. Another reason is on account of Mahomet, who was altogether lunatical and given up to wanton pleasure, to which the moon influences men beyond all other stars, seeing that it is of a moist nature, so that even the sea ebbs and flows in obedience to the moon's motion. Other reasons may be given, derived from the laws of Mahomet, as, for example, that God has given them the moon on its back for an ensign, because their law is void in its higher parts, even as a moon on its back is without grace, and so forth, turned away from the sun, ever empty, dark, and void ; it takes away the sun's brightness from us, because it comes between us and the sun ; it is the most wandering of all the planets ; in the harmony of heaven its note is the

deepest ; it holds a wandering and uncertain course among the wandering stars ; its orbit is the smallest of all ; and it favours the wild beasts of the night. All these points agree with the law of Mahomet, which has no reason in its higher parts, but remains dark, being turned away from the light of Christ, yet has light on the other side, for in many respects the law of the Alcoran bears splendid testimony to the truth, more especially with regard to the blessed Virgin Mary. They call Christ Rucholla, which means the 'Word of God,' the 'Breath of God,' or the 'Spirit of God,' words which, when well and piously interpreted, are full of holy awe.

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Now, above the vault which runs round about the temple below the higher range of windows, there is a walk all round, upon which stand their servants of the mosque, who call out the hours of the day and night, and hang out lighted lamps at certain hours. All these things I clearly and distinctly saw on the outside of the temple, when I looked at it from the Soldan's new mosque (page 227 *b*).

The court of the temple, and the whole of the area or open space all round about it, is paved with white and polished marble, and is so clean that when one stands upon the Mount of Olives and looks at the temple it seems to stand in a pool of quiet whitish water. At the south end of the courtyard, where the stone paving ceases, there is a delightful grove of olive-trees planted to supply oil to the temple lamps, whereof more than seven hundred hang in the temple. All these things I saw with my eyes from the outside, but what it is like within I have not seen, though I have been able to guess with some probability from the outward form of the temple, and from the other mosques which I have entered ; for within it has no sanctuary to contain their [*b*] relics, or in which either sacrament or

relics might be put, seeing that they have neither sacraments nor relics. Yet I have read in some chronicle that the feet and hands of Mahomet are kept there, but that the rest of his body was devoured by swine. In this profane temple there is no altar, no image either painted or carved, no wooden seats, benches, or stalls, but the whole pavement of various hues of polished marble can everywhere be seen, and the walls within are decorated with Greek work, even as they are without, so that nothing stands against the walls of the temple all the way round, and there is nothing at all within, save that there are lighted lamps hanging down from the vault above. But some say that in the midst of the temple there rises out of the pavement a rock, which is fenced round about with iron lattice-work on every side, and that no Saracen or infidel dares or presumes to go near to it ; yet they come and make pilgrimages from distant lands, devoutly wishing to visit and behold that rock, and because of that rock, in their common talk, they call the temple itself the Holy Rock. They say that many great things have been done upon that rock, for in the first place it was upon it that Melchisedek offered bread and wine (Gen. xiv.), and the patriarch Jacob slept there, with this rock beneath his head, and from it saw in his dreams the ladder whose top reached to heaven, and the angels ascending and descending on it ; and in the morning he anointed it with oil (Gen. xxviii.). Moreover, it was upon this rock that David saw the angel standing with his unsheathed sword, as we read in 1 Chron. xxi. Now, when the priests used to lay the burnt offerings upon that rock, presently Divine fire came down and consumed what was laid there. They also say that the prophet Jeremiah, when he saw that destruction was nigh the city and the temple, hid the ark of the Lord in this rock, which miraculously opened and took in the ark ; wherefore they believe that

the ark is still shut up within that rock. It is upon this rock that Christ was presented on the fortieth day, when Simeon took him in his arms (Luke ii.). Jesus, when twelve years of age, sat upon this rock in the midst of the doctors (Luke ii.); and when He was thirty years old He often preached sitting upon that rock. This is what the Saracens say about that rock, and some things which I have already said do not very well agree with these sayings of theirs, as, for instance, that about Melchisedek (page 255), and about Jacob (page 210 *a*); the instance of Jeremiah occurs on page 258.

The holiness of this place, I do not say of this temple, is proved by many texts of Scripture. This is the place which the Lord chose above all other places, as is told above, page 257. Here the glory of the Lord appeared in thick smoke, and the cloud filled the house so that the priests were not able to abide in the temple (1 Kings viii. 10, 11). Uzziah when he would have offered incense here, not being a priest, was smitten with leprosy (2 Chron. xxvi. 19). Heliodorus, when sent to despoil it, was grievously scourged (2 Maccab. iii. 26). Nicanor, when he rashly stretched out his hand toward the temple, lost both his hand and his head (1 Maccab. vii. and 2 Maccab. xiv.). King Antiochus when hastening to rob this temple died a miserable death in the mountains (2 Maccab. ix.). The Emperor Pompey, he who had heretofore been victorious, after he had defiled this place and stabled his horses therein, never had any good luck again. In this place the blessed Virgin was fed; here Gabriel, the angel of the Lord, appeared to Zacharias; here Joseph's rod flowered. From the temple which was built on this place the Lord Jesus several times cast out those who bought and sold. Here He wrote on the pavement with His finger (John viii.). In this place He preached much and worked great miracles.

When the temple was destroyed the Jews were not able to build anything here, as is told above, page 159 *a*, etc.; neither were the Saracens able to build a mosque on this spot until they had cast down the cross, as aforesaid. When the mosque was at last built, God seemed to be wroth that the worship of the execrable Mahomet should be carried on in this most holy place, wherefore He brought the people of the West into the place and was angry with the Saracens. The Christians consecrated the mosque of Mahomet into a church. It is of this temple that Bernard speaks in his sermon to the Knights Templars (chapter v.), saying: 'There is a temple at Jerusalem wherein knights dwell together, which is not equal as a building to the ancient and splendid temple of Solomon, but which is no less glorious; for the whole magnificence of the former temple depended on corruptible things, such as gold and silver, hewn stone, and divers kinds of wood; but all the beauty and glory of this temple, all its decoration, consists in the pious zeal for religion and chastened conversation of those who dwell therein. The one was remarkable for divers colours; the other is to be venerated for divers virtues and holy deeds. Indeed, holiness becomes the house of God which rejoices not so much in polished marble as in cultured morals, and loves pure minds more than gilded walls. But the appearance of this temple also is gay with arms, not with gems or ancient crowns of gold; the wall is covered with shields slung thereon instead of chandeliers, censers, and flagons; the whole house is fenced about with bridles and lances, forasmuch as the knights of Christ burn with the same zeal for the house of God wherewith He burned when He cast out those who bought and sold with a scourge, and think it far more unworthy and unbearable that the holy places should be defiled by infidels than that they should be disgraced by

traders. They dwell in the holy house together with their horses and their arms, to the end that, having driven far away from it and from the other holy places all the foul and tyrannical fury of the infidels, they may busy themselves both by day and by night in useful works, while they vie one with another in doing honour to God's temple with constant and heartfelt service, always offering vows therein, not the flesh of beasts as of old, but true sacrifices, peace, brotherly love, devout obedience, voluntary poverty.' Thus did men at Jerusalem in the days of St. Bernard, and the whole world was stirred up to devotion by their example. But as the zeal of the knights of this temple grew cold, it was not long ere the foolish people who had been cast out came back again, drove away with shame those lukewarm and carnal followers of the cross, and a second time desecrated Christ's holy temple by making a mosque of it. And so, alas! it is; for the Saracens who know the holiness of the place, and the mighty works which have been done there, treat the temple with great respect, and are wondrous diligent to keep it clean and well-ordered with all external care, washing it daily both within and without, [261 *a*] and it is all splendidly polished, so that it is a marvel to behold. The Saracens themselves will not enter this temple save after they have purified themselves with their ceremonial washings, and then they approach it with gravity and decorum, not in troops, but each man walks alone, even though he be a great lord; and they do not talk one with another, or bring children or dogs with them, so that no man is disturbed when at his prayers. Women have a door of their own, through which they enter both the temple and the courtyard thereof, and their own aisle in the temple, wherein they pray apart from the men; and those, with whom it is after the manner of women, stay in their houses,

and are in no wise suffered to approach the temple. Men put off their shoes before they enter the courtyard, make frequent kneelings and reverences in the courtyard before the temple, and so enter it with gravity.

When the king the Soldan is in Jerusalem, and wishes to enter the temple, they wash the pavement and the walls of the temple with rose-water, and the Soldan is sprinkled with the same water before he comes in, to show honour to the grandeur of the temple and of the king.

So highly is this temple esteemed among the Saracens, that so long as they kept it they would not much care if the Christians held the rest of the city; wherefore in the year of our Lord 1269, when our people were besieging Damietta, a city of Egypt, the Soldan, seeing that the place would be taken, sent a solemn embassy into our camp praying for peace, and begging that we would raise the siege, and take Jerusalem to possess it for ever, all save the temple of the Lord, which he meant to keep for himself. Besides this, he offered at his own expense to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which had been destroyed by Corradinus, King of Damascus, and to keep nothing that belonged to the kingdom of Jerusalem, save only the temple of the Lord in Jerusalem. The Christians, that is to say John, King of Jerusalem, and the French and Germans, would willingly and contentedly have accepted this offer, but it was not approved of by Pelagius, the Cardinal Legate, the Italians, and the Eastern Christians, so they would not receive the Soldan's ambassadors. But a few days afterwards, though they had taken Damietta, yet they lost it again, and all the places in the East and in the Holy Land, insomuch that they did not possess one stone of Jerusalem; and this befell them by the just judgment of God as a punishment for the avarice of the Italians, who, because Damietta was a city suitable for

trade, preferred it to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, thinking that they would gain possession of them all. Indeed, the Saracens would have been content to give up all Judaea, Palestine, and Galilee to the Christians, if only they might have been suffered to hold the temple in Jerusalem, but by refusing this to them we lost all, and to this day they possess the Holy Land, the Holy City, and the temple. They will not suffer any man who is not of the law of Mahomet to enter the temple, and whatever Jews or Christians enter therein and are discovered they straightway either force to abjure their faith, or else slay them with torture. Yet, notwithstanding this prohibition, many Christians run the risk, and devise ways whereby they can gain an entrance thither, because, as Ovid says :

‘For that which is denied we crave,
And long for what we may not have.’¹

Ignorant Christians fancy that the temple must be wondrous to behold within, seeing that it is highly wrought and exceeding beauteous without ; but in good sooth there are no decorations within, neither altars nor pictures nor images, but only a bright roomy chamber, paved and panelled with marble of divers colours, and lighted at night by many lamps which hang from the vaulted roof, for they say that there are seven hundred lamps always burning therein. In the whole of this temple there is nothing whatever save only on the north side there is a likeness of the sepulchre of Mahomet, a raised marble tomb, representing the sepulchre of Mahomet at Mecca, which they so greatly reverence that they worship its likeness in all mosques. About the sepulchre of Mahomet see Part II., page 40, and you will find much about Mecca on page 62.

¹ Ovid, *Amor*, iii. 4, 17.

So, then, there are in this temple no splendid decorations to be seen, nor are there any services or sacraments performed by priests or clergy. About this see Part II., pages 94 and 100. Among the Saracens there is no salvation, remission of sins, virtue, or truth ; so likewise their temples have no holiness, no consecration, no decoration, no priesthood, services, or sacraments. Yet, in spite of the emptiness of the temple, Christian pilgrims, as I have already told you, have a burning desire to see the inside of this temple, and sometimes some of them run the risk of death in order to do so. Here, therefore, seems to be a suitable place to consider the question raised by Antonius in Part III. of his history, tit. xxiv., ch. ix., § 17, 'whether a Christian commits a sin by entering Saracen mosques.' It seems that he does not, because their temples are ordered to be closed (against Christians) on pain of the loss of life and property (see Cusa 'On the Infidels and Saracens and their Temples,' Books I. and II.); and because, as far as prohibition of entrance goes, they are exactly like the Jews. . . . To this he answers that a Christian may enter a temple or Saracen mosque for four reasons : to wit, either to praise God or to preach Christ's Gospel ; to see the temple, to offer some insult to the temple, or to consider how the temple may be preserved. Now, a Christian ought not to enter a profane church or mosque to pray to God or to praise Him, lest he appear to partake in those people's errors, seeing also that the Saracens never praise God without perfidiously blaspheming the Saviour, and extolling the false prophet Mahomet ; and from such praises as these a Christian must by all means hold aloof. Therefore, lest he should appear to be a disciple of Mahomet, he ought to avoid places which are set apart for his praise, even though they be holy places ; nor can he praise God therein in a

proper fashion, because human actions depend very much upon the circumstances of the place wherein they are done. The Apostle (1 Cor. viii. 10) forbade the faithful to sit at table in a place where meat offered to idols was eaten, lest his brother, seeing him, should be led astray, believing him to be doing thus out of reverence for the idol ; even so it is forbidden to a Christian to kneel in prayer in a place where idols are worshipped, and if he does so he commits a mortal sin, even though he did not mean to worship the idol. Wherefore, when the Emperor Aelius Hadrianus set up a temple of Venus and an image of Jupiter, the Christians abandoned that most holy place because of that profane temple ; and had any man entered it, even in order to worship the holy place, he would have been held to be an idolater. In like manner the churches of heretics and schismatics are interdicted to Christians, who must not pray in them for fear of giving scandal ; much more, therefore, the temples of idols, the synagogues of Jews, and the mosques of Saracens may on no account be visited. Thus a man would sin most grievously against the faith were he to worship the true God in a temple of idols. He would sin equally grievously—nay, even more—were he to enter a Saracen mahumeria or mosque to say his prayers, because, albeit, the Mahometan Saracens are not idolaters, yet they are worse than true idolaters, as is proved in Part II., page 98 *a*. [262 *a*] And if the Lord (Matt. vi.) forbade His people to pray at the corners of the streets, that they might be seen of men and counted holy and saintly, much more is it forbidden to stand in a Saracen temple and pray, lest they be seen of men, and be thought to be wicked men and infidels. Hence it is clear that a Christian may not enter a mosque, to worship Christ therein, without sin.

Secondly, may he enter a mosque to preach the true

faith therein? It seems that this is not lawful, because he who so enters exposes himself to the risk of death, seeing that, in accordance with the law of the Alcoran, such a one would straightway be slain, and so would kill himself fruitlessly. But, on the other hand, many men, full of zeal for the faith, have entered Saracen temples and preached therein with fruit, and yet have not been slain; as, for example, the holy Vincentius of the Order of St. Dominic, who converted many thousands of Saracens to the true faith. Therefore it does not follow that, because you do or say that which causes you to be slain by others, therefore you are guilty of slaying your own self; because the saints themselves professed the Catholic faith, even when they knew without doubt that by so professing they would be put to death by tyrants; and we now worship them as martyrs to God. This we read of Brother Levinus of the Order of St. Dominic having done; for when the Saracens were all assembled together in one of their mosques he entered it, being filled with zeal for the saving of their souls, and boldly and continually cried out that their prayers were vain, that unless they believed in Christ they would go into eternal torment, and that the laws of Mahomet were unjust, deceitful, fanciful and false. While he was preaching thus the Saracens fell upon him and slew him. This friar is numbered among the martyrs by Antonius in the aforesaid passage; for he seems to have gone in thither, not out of his own superstition, but under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Were any man, moved by indiscreet zeal or anger, to enter in and cry out against them and be killed, he would be judged to be a busybody rather than a martyr. Thus was it done to certain Greek Christians, two of whom a few years ago at Jerusalem entered with great fury into the temple, and there snatched up their books, tore them to pieces, and stamped

upon them with their feet, saying that they were all made up and false. The Saracens straightway caught these men, and put them to death with cruel torture by sawing them asunder.

Thirdly, may a Christian enter a mosque without sin and therein offer insults or mockeries, and make jests upon it, or destroy the books, windows, or lamps, or bring in mud or filth? It seems to me, with all respect for those who are better able to judge, that he may not, because such insults and mockeries do not appear to proceed from charity, but rather from anger, dislike, and rancour, or from pride, and by such acts the honour of God is not exalted, but blasphemy against Christ and anger is stirred up among the infidels without any amendment of their lives, and so those who act so risk their lives fruitlessly. Indeed, simple men think that they are doing God service when they play some insolent trick in Saracen mosques, or in Jewish synagogues. But this is no service of God, for our holy Mother Church tolerates the synagogues of the Jews, and does not destroy them as it might; wherefore the sons of the Church ought not to defile that which their mother endures. The same argument applies to the mosques, wherefore a certain knight, a comrade of mine in my pilgrimage, did wrong; for when in the country of Palestine we passed a night in an inn adjoining which was a mosque, in such sort that we could get down from the vaulted roof of the house wherein we lodged on to the adjoining vaulted roof of the mosque. At the top of this roof there was a hole, through which we could look into the mosque, as we did. But the aforesaid knight arose in the night, [b] climbed on to the vaulted roof of the mosque, and defiled it through the hole, which made us laugh much, for we were all amused at seeing him. But I do not see what virtue there was in what he did, neither could

any good follow from it, but much evil; for had the Saracens known of it, we should not have left the country alive. For albeit in mosques God is untruly worshipped, yet they are built in honour of the true God, and might be consecrated and made into Christian churches, as often happens when Christians take any town from Saracens or Turks; and they in like manner make mosques of our churches, wherefore because of this property, not out of any respect for their ritual, one retains a certain respect for the temples of the Gentiles, seeing that even the Apostles did not destroy the temples, but removed the idols from them and made them into Christian churches. We often read that even those who defiled idolatrous temples were punished, as is clear from the story of Medusa, the daughter of Phorcus, who, being an exceeding lovely woman, had among her other beauties hair which was not merely yellow, but golden. Attracted by its brilliance, Neptune lay with her in Minerva's temple, and thence the horse Pegasus was born. Wherefore Minerva, being angered at this, lest the insult offered to her temple should pass unavenged, turned Medusa's hair into snakes, and so, after having been beauteous, she became a monster. And what befell Pompey, and what misfortunes he came into after he had stabled his horses in the temple at Jerusalem, everyone knows save those who never read anything. I pass over the disasters which Antiochus and Nicanor brought upon themselves by their spoliation of temples, and the scourging of Heliodorus.

Fourthly, it remains that we should see whether a Christian can without sin enter a mosque, not to pray, nor to destroy any part of it, nor yet to offer any insult to it, or play any tricks with it, but merely to behold the mosque and the ritual thereof. I believe that if he can enter in without danger and unnoticed that he does not

commit a great sin—albeit, he appears to be inquisitive if it be mere curiosity, and not devotion, whereby he is brought in thither. If the mosque stands in any holy place, and a Christian can secretly and unnoticed go in and out of it without danger, then he can meritoriously enter, kiss the earth, and say his prayer, as we did in the mosque which stands over the sepulchre of David, for which see page 97 *b*; and we would willingly have done the same in the mosque at Hebron, which stands over the double cave, as is told in Part II., page 8. But if entrance cannot be gained without risk or heavy charges, he who enters such a place acts imprudently. I know a knight who is still alive, and who was led by his desire to see the temple, whereof I have been speaking, into making a bargain with a Mameluke to put a Saracen dress upon him, and take him in thither. So this old Mameluke brought our comrade, dressed in an Eastern dress, as far as the entrance to the courtyard of the temple; but when they were there, and would have gone in, such terror came upon the knight that he could scarcely stand for trembling, and dared not go in, but turned back, and came to us, rejoicing at having given up his design. Indeed, it is not to be wondered if he feared to risk his life, because he was not sure that his guide was faithful. Although I myself am fond of seeing strange and curious sights, [263 *a*] yet I never was tempted to enter the temple, but was satisfied with the sight thereof, whereby I confess I have often been troubled and scandalized, when I compared the cleanliness, the beauty, and the decent order of the temple with our churches, which, O shame! are like stables for beasts of burthen. Our churches stand all dirty, with people walking through them as though they were inns, and befouled with filth, to our great confusion, and to the contempt and reproach of the sacraments. It is a burning

shame to see at Jerusalem the church of Christ's resurrection standing almost without decoration like a smoky hospice and to see the church of Mahomet neat and clean like a king's palace. Oh, what a false proportion and untrue comparison between Christ and Mahomet, seeing that the one is the Son of God, and the other the first-born of the devil; the one is the incarnate Lord, the other the devil incarnate; the one is the Father of those that shall be saved, the other the seducer of wretches to their doom. The one hath built up, the other hath cast down; the one hath saved, the other hath damned; the one hath redeemed, the other hath destroyed! Yet is the temple of Christ cursed, desecrated, and despised, while the temple of Mahomet is adorned, beautiful, and exalted.

But what wonder if this be done in Jerusalem, among Moors and Saracens, when it is done even among Christians and Catholics? Look, I pray you, at the supreme church of all the world—that of St. John Lateran—which is the head of all the churches both within the city of Rome and throughout the world, as is proved by Alvarez in his 'Lamentation over the Church,' Book II., ch. ii., etc., which see. In what a state it is as regards both ornament and cleanliness! Pray God it may even be safe from ruin. There stands the Church of the Saviour¹ and our Holy of Holies, with its incomparable treasure of relics, yet the place looks as though it were abandoned and left desolate, and one can scarce find therein the things needful for the sacrifice of Mass. Its courtyards are filthy, the chapels adjoining it are desecrated, its altars profaned, its palaces destroyed, the monks who once served God there have been driven out, and in their place others have been put in, under whose rule all is going to ruin, and many parts have already fallen, not because of the presence of Turks

¹ See Baedeker's 'Central Italy,' pp. 268 *et seq.*

and Saracens, but because of the absence of Christians. So also the church of St. Peter is greatly in need of all things befitting so great a church. If these things have come to this pass in the chief churches of the world, in the capital city of Catholics, in the centre of the faithful, what, then, may not take place in the other churches throughout that body? Filthy churches, misuse and neglect in the fabrics, vessels, books, vestments, altar-cloths, churchyards, burial-grounds, and out-buildings. It is a disgrace to think of it, and a shame to say it. A church can be found, and would that it were but one, not many churches, wherein the altar, the altar-cloths, the cloths of the sacristy, the corporal, the cover of the chalice, the albs¹ and amices² are all so dirty that the priest of that church could not for disgust suffer them to be upon his own table—nay, he would not endure his own breeches to be so filthy and neglected. The albs are begrimed, the amice is foul with sweat, and all the things needful for service are rotten with excess of dirt, so that no man would endure to have them in his own dwelling. O human brother, would that thou couldst see at Jerusalem how reverend is the appearance of this temple of the execrable Mahomet, how pleasant is the approach thereunto, as I have told you on page 227 *b*, how clean and quiet its courtyard, how bright and neat everything is kept, how devoutly the worshippers enter therein, how gravely they bear themselves in praying, how modestly the women show themselves there, with their faces always veiled, and how the men pray in silence apart from them! Couldst thou see this, thou wouldst be deeply [*b*] shocked and grievously wroth with the neglect and

¹ See Palmer's 'Antiquities of the English Ritual,' Vol. II., Appendix, section vi.

² *Humercule*, an amice. Cf. Virgil, 'Aen.,' iii. 405; also Amalarius of Metz, s. v.

irreverence shown by the faithful in our own churches. Yet, perchance, this irreverence itself may be interpreted in a good sense, because, seeing that we have true sacraments, whose chief power consists in winning mercy for the death and in the healing of souls, we therefore take less care concerning the mere outward ornaments of our temples, whereas the heathen, who do not seek after inward purity of heart, are all the more eager for outward cleanliness. But if Christians allow this dirt to be there through irreverence and carelessness, it is a grave abuse, as is proved by Hugo, who sets down irreverence towards the altar among his twelve 'sins of the cloister.'

THE TEMPLE OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY ON THE
THRESHING-FLOOR OF OMAN.

On the south side of Bethel, and of the temple which they call Solomon's temple, in the same threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite, there is another great temple and exceeding fair church, built in all respects after the fashion of our own churches. It is larger than Solomon's temple by reason of the length of its nave; it is roofed with lead, and by day it is lighted by many windows all round about it, while at night eight hundred lamps burn therein, because it is an exceeding holy mosque of the Saracens. I am quite unable to find any account, written by anybody, of who built this temple, and when it was built; yet I have no doubt whatever in my own mind that the Christians built it after the last recovery of the Holy City in the time of the Latin kings, because the form and character of the building show that it was built by Christians, even as the form of what is called Solomon's temple clearly proves that it was built by heathens, and no sensible Christian can believe what they are wont to tell pilgrims, that this same temple was built by Helena,

as is explained on page 259. So also this temple whereof I speak was not built by any men but the Christians; for when they had taken the Holy City, they wished that there should be a church of the blessed Virgin near the temple of the Lord, and so they built this church in her honour, and consecrated it to her out of respect for her purification in the temple, wherefore some call this the Church of the Purification of Mary. Others call it the temple of Simeon. Others simply call it the Church of the Blessed Virgin. Others draw a distinction between Solomon's temple and the temple of the Lord, and say that this is the temple of the Lord, and that other is Solomon's temple. Others call it Solomon's portico; others call it the temple of Zachariah. The latter have more claim to belief, since the blessed Virgin when a child was presented to Zachariah, the father of John the Baptist.

In this church the Templars used to perform service, but now the Saracens have made a mosque of it, and it has been taken away from the use of the Christian religion, as has also the temple of Solomon. Beneath this church there is a remarkable and extensive vaulted underground building, of such size that six hundred horses could be conveniently stabled therein. In this building I myself have been, as I have already told you on page 228 *b*. Another temple is now being built near these two, at the charges of the Soldan that now is, and it is a great and costly one, standing without the courtyard and threshing-floor of Araunah. In it there are eighty-eight lighted lamps. About this mosque, see page 227 *b*.

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN CHURCH IN JERUSALEM, WHICH IS BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN ON MOUNT SION BEFORE THE BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD'S SEPULCHRE, IN WHICH THE MIRACLE OF THE EASTER FIRE BEGAN.

[246 *a*] Almost the whole description of the holy city of Jerusalem is connected with these two temples — that is to say, Bethel, which they call Solomon's temple ; and the Anastasis, which is the Church of the Lord's Resurrection. To these temples also is due every good thing that has come to the city, as Chrysostom bears witness when he says that every good thing and every evil thing is poured out upon the people from the temple of the Lord, as is told in his work on the 'Lament of the Church,' Book I., art. 616. For the many destructions of the city of Jerusalem and the many rebuildings of the same, its glory and exaltation, its shame and degradation, came from its temples, both in the Old and New Testament, even to this day.

At this present day the Christians would care little about the Saracens' bearing rule in Jerusalem, provided only that we were allowed freedom to pass in and out of our temple of the Lord's sepulchre without fear, and without vexations and extortionate payments. Neither would the Saracens mind if the Christians were lords of the Holy City, if we would render up the temple to them. But since Christians and Saracens cannot agree about this matter, unhappy Jerusalem has suffered, doth now suffer, and will hereafter suffer sieges, castings down, destructions, and terrors beyond any other city in the world. Well, indeed, may it say, 'The zeal of Thy house hath eaten me up.' In truth, zeal for these temples has eaten up, devoured, and crushed Jerusalem. To go back further into this matter, the Romans never would have rent the city to pieces so cruelly and

butcherly had not the Jews fought in defence of their temple with such exceeding obstinate zeal, whereby they angered the Roman army, and stirred up a destructive hatred against the Holy City and the temple. When the city and temple were destroyed by the Romans, it is believed that the city of David on Mount Sion was preserved for a citadel and fortalice. In this same city of David the faithful had a church, which had been built in the time of the Apostles in the place of the chamber of the Lord's Supper, where they performed divine service, held councils and elections, and published ordinances concerning matters of faith before their separation. Here, also, the most blessed Virgin Mary is believed to have had her dwelling. In this church St. Stephen filled the office of deacon, and in it he was buried after his martyrdom. This church on Sion was never quite destroyed, either under Titus or Aelius Hadrianus, or under the Saracens, but has endured from the time of the Apostles even to this day, save only for a few years, when the wrath of the Romans was hot against the Jews, when they took Jerusalem, what time the faithful, warned beforehand by the Holy Ghost, had removed out of Jerusalem, lest they might share the doom of the Jews. But straightway after the Romans had gone away they again went up to the hill and church of Sion. Now, it is believed that the notable miracle of the Easter fire, whereof I have spoken on page 121 *a*, first began in the church on Sion ; but at what time I have nowhere read, save that in the year of our Lord 192, before Constantine the Great and Helena, before the Invention of the Holy Cross, Narcissus was Bishop of Jerusalem, and he, when he was going to hold service on Easter Even, was told by his servants that there was no oil either in the jar or in the lamps. When the holy and believing man heard this, being full of faith, he ordered the servants to draw water and bring it to him.

When the water was brought to him, he prayed, blessed the water, and bade them pour it into the lamps. Then of a sudden, by a wondrous power unheard of in any other age, the water took upon itself the fatness of oil, and, being lighted from heaven, made the light of the lamps shine more brightly than it was wont to do. This miracle was wrought in the days of the pagans, under the Emperor Victor and the Emperor Severus, who reigned two hundred and eleven years before Constantine. After this Narcissus there were many saintly bishops in Jerusalem, and the multitude of Christian people were never without a church—albeit the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was not yet built, wherefore all religious solemnities took place on Mount Sion, until the building of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, of whose beginning I will now tell you.

THE BEGINNING OF THE TEMPLE OF THE LORD'S
SEPULCHRE.

The place of the crucifixion and burial of the Lord Jesus was made without the gate of the city of Jerusalem, as is proved by John xviii. and Heb. xiii. This place was counted famous almost from the beginning of the human race. They say, too, that our first parent Adam was buried therein, and that the patriarch's body was translated thence, all save his head, to the double cave, which is at Hebron, and buried there. Because of this the custom has grown up amongst painters of painting Adam's head at the feet of the Crucified One, and for this cause the sons of Adam for a long time used to treat this place with respect. It may be that they built a shrine there in their parents' honour, and that it endured till the time of Noah's flood. After the flood Shem, the son of Noah, who is Melchisedek, dwelt there upon Mount Calvary, and met Abraham bearing bread and wine, and blessed him. Afterwards, in the same

place, Abraham would have sacrificed Isaac at the Lord's command. Here the brazen serpent was set up, to which the people offered sacrifice; indeed, this was the chief of the high places which afterwards Hezekiah removed (2 Kings xviii. 4); wherefore the Jews showed an especial reverence for this place. Moreover, Gentile philosophers used to visit this place, because of the middle of the world, which they proved to be here, as I have told on page 117 *b*. The shape of this place is described on page 117 *b* and page 130 *b*. This place continued to be held in honour down to the time of the Greek Gentiles, who, out of hatred towards the Jews, broke in pieces and scattered the oratory which stood there, and appointed the place to be that where evil-doers should be put to death, whereby the sacred place of the Jews was rendered loathsome to them. But during His lifetime it is believed that the Lord Jesus often came and visited the place of the mount and the place of His burial, pointing out that holy spot which at the last by His death, His burial, and His most glorious resurrection He hath consecrated and made venerable for all the world. After the Lord's ascension the most blessed Virgin Mary, the Apostles, and the rest of the faithful, were wont to visit the place daily, and to kiss the footprints of the Lord Jesus, as aforesaid, on page 173 *b*. Some also declare that St. James the Less, who was ordained by the Apostles first Bishop of Jerusalem, made his seat and dwelling in the place of his Lord's resurrection, and there celebrated divine service; moreover, he was the author of one of the articles of the Creed, that, namely, which sets forth that the Lord 'suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried.'

Now, after the martyrdom of St. James in the forty-second, or, as some say, in the forty-fifth year since the Lord's passion, the sins of the Jews caused the Holy City

to be utterly destroyed, save only the city of David, and the west wall over against the rock of Calvary, and the garden of the Lord's sepulchre, which they suffered to remain standing to the end that the guards of that country might have a strong place. After the Romans were gone, the Christians came back, as aforesaid, into Jerusalem, and used to visit the place Golgotha with all their accustomed devotion; yet they did not build there any church or temple, because of their fear of the Roman guards, and because they would not change the form of the place from that which it bore at the time of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, a form which St. James also was loath to change, that the remembrance of what had come to pass there might be keener. And I would [265 *a*] that no church had ever been built there, for then we should have more clearly understood the meaning of the Gospels where they tell of the Lord's passion and resurrection. I verily believe that the Christians would not have altered the form of the place, had the Emperor Hadrian not done so.

This Caesar came to Jerusalem A.D. 119, at which time it had already been in some sort rebuilt by the Christians and Jews. For the second time he slew the Jews, sold them for slaves, and drove them out of the country, and he built a new city of Jerusalem, pulling down and enlarging the old one. He filled up the ditch between the city and the place of Christ's passion and the garden of the sepulchre, raising it to the level of the rest of the ground, and he built a wall round the city which enclosed this place within its circuit, because he had heard that the place was sacred, and was venerated by Christians. Now, seeing that he was a heathen and an idolater, he wished his own gods to be honoured there, and he built a great temple enclosing both the rock of Calvary and the cave of the Lord's sepulchre. On the rock of Calvary, where the holy cross had

once stood, he set up a statue of the most shameless courtesan Venus, and in the cave of the Lord's sepulchre he set up the figure of the most wicked Jupiter ; and thus it came about that the place which before had been most frequented by Christians became most hateful to them. The place remained in this evil condition for one hundred and eighty years, down to the time of Constantine the Great and St. Helena, as we learn from the epistle of Jerome to Paulinus, which begins with the words *Bonus homo*. This epistle is in the third book, at page 210.

In the year of our Lord 313, Constantine and Helena were converted to our faith, and she, having become a worshipper of the cross, came to Jerusalem. Here she found the place of the Lord's death and resurrection in a profane and most unclean temple ; wherefore, being filled with zeal for God, she cast out the idols and destroyed the temple down to its very foundations, cleansed the rock of Calvary and the stone of the Lord's sepulchre, and caused men to dig deep into the ground, with much toilsome throwing out of earth, in the place where she found the precious wood of the holy cross, together with the other symbols of the passions of Christ, as has been told on pages 114, 115, and 130. Now, when she made this known to her son Constantine, he straightway sent her a sum of money to meet her charges, and gave orders to Maximius, who then was Bishop of Jerusalem, to build a splendid church in that holy place, according to the will of his mother Helena. Thus was this great work begun and ended, and a great temple built with exceeding costly decorations, so that in all the world there was not the like thereof, and many thought that this temple was costlier than that former one had been which Titus had destroyed, which had stood upon the threshing-floor of Araunah. At that time this threshing-floor contained no temple or even

oratory, but only some dwellings of common people, and was altogether without honour. So now the seat of the bishop was moved from Sion to this new temple, and the clergy and all the court dwelt there ; moreover, the miracle which I had spoken of on the last page, of the holy fire at Easter, was renewed there ; for when on that holy day, Easter Even, all the lights throughout the whole church had been put out, while the clergy and people were praying, lo ! of a sudden lightning came down from heaven and lighted the Easter wax-candle and all the candles and lamps. This prodigy took place every year in this church on Easter Even, and as long as it appeared, the church received no hurt at the hands of the infidels. It was then the custom that when this holy Saturday was come every fire throughout all Jerusalem was put out, and no man dared to light any other fire by any means soever, save from that which was furnished from the church. Wherefore all the people, both in the church and in their own houses, remained instant in prayer for the heavenly fire, which they held to be a most certain sign of God's favour toward them. When it came down from heaven, all of them lighted lamps and took the fire to other churches far and wide, even as nowadays the consecrated oil is carried about, and they also brought it to private men's houses, where they used to keep it alight all the year.

* * * * *

Now, in the year of our Lord 323, after the death of Maximius, Bishop of Jerusalem, the Arians began to assail the Church of God throughout the world, and having made their way into Jerusalem, they got the Church of the Holy Sepulchre into their power. They deposed Conrad, the Catholic and lawfully-appointed Bishop of Jerusalem, established an archdeacon therein, thus altering the appointed order of the Church of Rome, and for many years reigned

over the holy church of Golgotha, which they disgraced by their heresy. In these times, when the Arian heretics possessed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Council of Nice was held. After this Constantine came to Jerusalem, and gave ear to the Arians to such an extent that he was persuaded by them to go down to the Jordan and receive a second baptism at the hands of the Arians, as though the baptism of St. Sylvester¹ were of none effect. This we find written in history concerning Constantine ; but I believe that the whole story was made up by the Arians, to the end that they might strengthen their party by the shame of so great an Emperor. It may be that he went down, together with the clergy and people, to the Jordan and washed therein out of devotion, as pilgrims always do, and that this gave the Arians occasion to say that the Emperor was baptized a second time. As long as the Arians bore rule over the church, the fire from heaven was never sent down to the light on Easter Even, as it was wont to be under the rule of the Catholics. Indeed, it has been proved by unerring experiments to be true that whenever there are schisms and divisions in the Roman Catholic Church, at that same time the Lord's sepulchre is always taken away from the Catholics and given to heretics, schismatics, or Saracens ; and I firmly believe that if at this day the Western Church were at unity with itself, we might without the sword and without war gain possession of the Lord's sepulchre. Now, while the Arians governed this

¹ ' According to the legend, the first of the Christian Emperors was healed of the leprosy, and purified in the waters of baptism, by St. Silvester, the Roman bishop ; and never was physician more gloriously recompensed. His royal proselyte withdrew from the seat and patrimony of St. Peter ; declared his intention of founding a new capital in the East ; and resigned to the Popes the free and perpetual sovereignty of Rome, Italy, and the provinces of the West.'—Gibbon, ch. xlix.

church, they cast out the Catholics from it on all sides, neither would they suffer pilgrims to enter into the Lord's sepulchre, wherefore homicides took place daily, and there were terrible quarrels between the Arians and the Catholics : at this time, I say, the Saracens drew to a head together, fell upon both sorts of Christians, drove them out of the church, [266 *a*] cast all these wranglers, whether they were heretics or Catholics, out of Jerusalem, and . . . destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. But it did not long remain desolate, for all the bishops of the Eastern Catholic Church, together with other faithful people, about this year of our Lord 371, went to Jerusalem, drove out the Saracens and Arians, rebuilt the fabric of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and brought it back to the true faith of the Catholic Church with much toil, forasmuch as the Arians had become exceeding powerful throughout the world, and were favoured by bishops, clergy, kings and princes. This damnable heresy took its rise from Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, who at Alexandria was mad enough to try to implant discord in the orthodox faith, and also tried to separate the Son from the eternal and ineffable substance of the Father, as we are told by Gratian in his twenty-fourth Decretal, ch. i.

After the Church at Jerusalem had been purged from that heresy, sainthood prevailed to a wondrous extent both among clergy and laity throughout the world until the time of the Emperor Heraclius. Indeed, between the time of the Emperor Constantine, who reigned A.D. 313, and Heraclius, who reigned A.D. 611, there flourished exceeding famous and enlightened men, and with them also most perverse and dangerous heretics, of whom Arius was the chief. This age was both holy and perilous. It was holy because of the saints who lived at that time, for, not to speak of others, there flourished between those two

Emperors four famous doctors of the Church—to wit, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory ; while of saints there were Nicholas, Anthony the Great ; Zeno, Bishop of Verona ; Paul, the first of the hermits ; Paulinus of Treves, Eusebius, Hilary, Athanasius, Macarius, and Mary of Egypt. There were many hermits at that time in the wildernesses of Egypt, Arabia, Palestine, and Libya. Every year devout Christians flocked together from all parts of the world to Jerusalem to keep the great feast of Easter Day, and many came not only for the sake of Jesus, but that they might behold the miracle of the heavenly fire on Easter Even, and the prodigy on Mount Olivet on Ascension Day, of which I have told you already on pages 131 *a* and *b*, and 149 *b*. At that time, too, the Divine power ceased not to magnify this place by many signs declared by divers miracles. Thus, in the year of our Lord 620, a monk named Bernard,¹ not he of Clairvaux, but another holy man, beheld the oft-mentioned fire come down from heaven into the temple of the Lord's sepulchre, and has written much about it in the book of his pilgrimage. At that time the Christians were thought much of because of this Easter fire. At that time, too, the holy cross and the other relics which had been laid up there by St. Helena were displayed. Thus we read that St. Mary of Egypt, while yet a sinner, came up to Jerusalem with many others to see the holy cross, but she was not let in to see it before she had vowed to amend her life, as is set forth in her legend.

Between the two aforesaid Emperors Constantine and Heraclius, Julian the Apostate took up the reins of government in the year 363. This man was jealous of the glory of Christ and of the Christians, wherefore he gathered all

¹ See 'Itinerarium Bernardi, monachi Franci,' in Tobler's 'Descriptiones.' Leipzig, 1874 ; 8vo.

the Jews together and sent them to Jerusalem at his own charges, to the end that they might build a temple on the threshing-floor of Araunah, to the prejudice of the glorious temple of the Lord's sepulchre, which then was magnified throughout all the world ; but with what confusion they were forced to desist from the work is told above, on page 259.

After the Arian heresy was cast forth of the Church at Jerusalem, and when the entire body of faithful people were flocking in multitudes to the Lord's sepulchre, when peace and holiness were flourishing, and while the most blessed Jerome was dwelling at Bethlehem, another evil arose in the Church at Jerusalem, to wit, a schism about jurisdiction ; for when the holy Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, in Cyprus, came to Jerusalem, and was arguing in the temple of the holy sepulchre against the heresy of Origen, John, the Bishop of Jerusalem, and all his clergy, indignantly bade the holy man hold his peace on this subject ; and afterwards, when he had gone back to his own place, Bishop John forbade those who had been ordained by Epiphanius to be accounted priests, and excommunicated all the holy men of the other party, so that it came to pass that heretics alone were suffered to enter the Lord's sepulchre and to kiss the holy cross. We read of this matter in Jerome's book addressed to Pammachus against John, the schismatic Bishop of Jerusalem. After many years had gone by, when St. Gregory sat in the seat of Peter, in the year of our Lord 584, the seamless coat of our Lord was found in a marble chest in Masphat, near Jerusalem. It was brought with weeping and fasting by St. Gregory, Bishop of Antioch ; Honorius, Bishop of Jerusalem ; and John, Bishop of Constantinople, to Jerusalem, into the church of Golgotha, to the great joy and devotion of the people.

In the year of our Lord 609 there arose in the East that notable savage, Chosroes, King of Persia, who gathered together a heathen army, laid waste Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, and [b] opposed the Roman rule in every way. After he had swallowed up many cities he entered Judaea, besieged the holy city of Jerusalem, which was full of devout Christians, took it, and slew therein thirty thousand men, whose bodies he ordered to be cast out of the city into the brook Cedron. But a great lion sent from God came and bore away the corpses of the Christians, and buried them on the Mount of Martyrs, near Jerusalem, as we read in the 'Ecclesiastical History,' and above, page 252 *a*. He seized some nobles and made them captives, among whom Zacharias, the Bishop of Jerusalem, was imprisoned. After he had cast down the wall of the Holy City, he entered into the temple of the holy sepulchre, meaning to plunder it and then to destroy it; but after he had taken away the holy cross, which Helena had placed there, enclosed in cases of gold, and presumed to stretch forth his hand for the destruction of the temple, the Divine power shone forth from the Lord's sepulchre in such sort that he and his men were terror-stricken, refrained from the destruction which they had begun, and returned with his spoil, with the holy cross, and with the captives to Persia. After this he laid waste the churches of the East and sent his son to the northern parts, to Syria, to the end that he might conquer the nations in that country and lay waste their churches. He passed through many countries, and at last sat down near the Danube, where the Emperor Heraclius marched against him and conquered him, as we are told in the service for the day¹ of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. When he was conquered, his father slain, and the lost kingdoms

¹ September 14.

recovered, Heraclius brought back to Jerusalem the holy cross, Zacharias the bishop, and all the captives and plunder. He repaired the ruins of the temple and of the city, and restored to the Christians the ordinances of their Church according to ecclesiastical usage. Indeed, the Holy City had stood for ten years in desolation and misery, but Heraclius restored it, and returned to Constantinople, where he began to lead a vicious life.

At this time Mahomet, the devil incarnate, the first-born of Asmodeus, the son of Belial, the messenger of Satan, the deceiver of the world, the confusion of mankind, the destroyer of the Church of God, the false prophet, the forerunner of Antichrist, yea, Antichrist himself, the fulfilment of heresies, the corrupter of the Divine laws, the persecutor of the faithful, and the miracle of all that is false, began to display his madness, that the lamentable prophecy set forth in Rev. xiii. about him might be fulfilled, because he was that horrible and detestable beast whom John saw rising out of the earth, having two horns, and so forth. See the explanation of this passage in the Chronicle of Antoninus, Part I., tit. vi., ch. i., § 10. While this evil beast was cruelly raging, many Christian countries and kingdoms were joined unto him. Seeing this, Heraclius feared that he might enter Jerusalem, destroy the temple of the Lord's sepulchre, and show irreverence toward the holy cross; wherefore he prevented Mahomet, took the holy cross and everything else that was costly and precious out of the temple, and translated them to Constantinople, because he despaired of being able to withstand Mahomet. This translation of the holy cross took place in the year of our Lord 623.

After the death of Mahomet, his third successor, Hamor,¹ the son of Cathap, took the city of Jerusalem, A.D. 634,

¹ Omar.

and built therein a great mosque for Saracens and followers of Mahomet, on the place where once Solomon's temple had stood, whereof I have spoken before, page 256. When he took the city, he meant to make a mosque of the temple of the holy sepulchre, and to fit it up for the Saracen rites ; but when he entered the temple he was terrified by the Divine power in such sort that he desisted from his [267 a] intention, and dealt fairly kindly with the Christians, on account of the piety of Sempronius the Christian bishop, whose kindly counsel he made use of in the building of the new temple. From what has been said, it is clear that the temple of the Lord's sepulchre stood for three hundred and four years before the temple which they call Solomon's temple. So Hamor suffered the Christians to serve God in their own temple, and forced the Saracens to praise Mahomet in another temple ; for the heathen people were not yet accustomed to the rites of Mahomet, and therefore they had to be driven by force. In process of time divers quarrels arose in Jerusalem between the Saracens and the Christians, and the Saracens cast many burdens upon the Christians, from which burdens they were often relieved by the Emperors. For instance, in A.D. 670 Constantine III., albeit the worst of men, nevertheless seven times freed the Holy City and the Lord's sepulchre from the oppression of the Saracens ; and after him Constantine IV. wrought much evil to the Saracens both in Jerusalem and elsewhere, wherever they were fighting against the Christians. Nevertheless, the Saracens bore rule over Jerusalem, and our Emperors could not set the Holy City free from the yoke of the Greeks. In the year of our Lord 803, in the reign of the great and most Christian Emperor Charles, the Christians in Jerusalem and in all the East were in great tribulation beneath the yoke of the heathen, and in their misery they begged for

help from Constantine, the sixth of that name, Emperor of Constantinople, and from Irene his mother. But, forasmuch as the strength and power of the Greeks had very greatly fallen away, he could not aid these distressed people by his own forces. At that time Leo, the third Pope of that name, out of respect for his transcendent merits, gloriously raised Charles the Great, King of the Franks, to the dignity of Roman Emperor, a title which had been lost almost five hundred years before by Constantine the Great, and by this time had almost become forgotten through age, and restored its empire to the West.

Charles, surnamed Augustus, adopted the imperial name and dignity, and reigned for fourteen years. He did wondrous deeds throughout the world, and brought glory and honour upon his people the Germans. For this Charles was a Teuton, as is clearly proved by that announcement in . . . the Decretals, where the text runs : ‘The Apostolic See hath transferred the Roman Empire from the Greeks to the Germans in the person of the Magnificent Charles.’ And in Appa. II.¹ the same thing is told. Moreover, we read in the Chronicles that when the Roman Church was oppressed by the Lombards, the Pope begged for help from Constantine and Leo his son, Emperors of Constantinople ; but as they would not undertake the defence of the Church of Rome, he transferred the Roman Empire to Charles the Great, the son of Pepin, whom he himself had put in the place of Louis, King of France, whom he had deposed.

This transfer of the empire from the Greeks to the Germans took place A.D. 776. In the reign of Charles his fame was heard of in Jerusalem, wherefore the Patriarch of Jerusalem sent to him the keys of the Lord’s sepulchre,

¹ I am unable to trace this reference.—ED.

and of the place Calvary, and the keys of the city gates, and of the Mount (Sion), together with a banner, for a blessing and in sign of subjection, as may be read in the Chronicle of Antoninus, Part II., titulus xiv., ch. iv., § 2.

Not long after this the heathen rose in rebellion against John, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, and drove him and all his clergy out of the city. He went to Constantinople, and called upon the Emperor of Constantinople to help him. While the Emperor was busied about this matter, he beheld a vision in his sleep, whereby he was taught that it was not he, but Charles the Great, who should set Jerusalem free, and restore the Lord's sepulchre to the [δ] Christians. Wherefore the Emperor of Constantinople, by the hands of the clergy of the holy sepulchre, sent to Charles the Great the keys, and a letter setting forth the straits into which the Lord's sepulchre and the Christians were brought. When Charles read this letter, he wept. Straightway he gathered together a great host of Germans and Franks, brought it across the sea, and rescued the Holy City from the hands of the heathen. He restored the holy sepulchre to the Christians, and made so complete a peace between the Christians and the heathens as we never read of their having had before. He did not slay the infidels, nor drive them out of Jerusalem, but made them agree together on fixed conditions. It is said that there was so great concord between them for many years that, if the beast of any traveller perished on the way, they would lay down their burden by the wayside and go to the nearest village for another beast without the property they left behind suffering any loss, plunder, or theft. So peace being thus restored, and the Church at Jerusalem set in order, the most illustrious Charles on his return to his own country visited Constantinople, where he was magnificently entertained.

In recompense for his labours they offered him exceeding precious gifts, gold, silver, precious stones, and other valuable things, all of which he refused, saying that it would ill become him to take hire for the labour which he had wrought for the love of God alone. When he was besought to receive some gift, he asked to be given relics. Wherefore they opened their treasures, and gave him some thorns from the Lord's crown, one of the nails of the holy cross, and a great piece of the same; the Lord's kerchief, the tunic of the blessed Virgin, the swaddling clothes wherewith she had swaddled the Boy Jesus, part of the Lord's manger, the iron lance-head wherewith the Lord's side was pierced, St. Simeon's arm, and many other things, which were received by that illustrious man with great devotion, and many miracles were wrought on the occasion, as is told in the *Speculum Historiale*, Book XXV., ch. v. He brought them home with him to Germany, to his own city of Aix la Chapelle, where he laid them up in the church of the Virgin which he had built. There they are reverently preserved at this day, and are displayed every seven years, at which times an innumerable multitude of the faithful gathers together, and especially Hungarians come from their own country in vast troops and gather at Aix. I myself saw these relics in the year 1468.

Some relics Charles kept in his own court, and appointed them to belong to the court of the Emperor. He therefore laid them up, together with the most precious emblems of the empire, in a certain place within the same; wherefore at this day they are kept at Segodunum—that is to say, Nüremberg, where they are displayed every year on the Friday after *Quasimodo*, when a great multitude gathers together to see them.

But if any prince visits Nüremberg at other than the appointed time, they bring them out and show them to him. Wherefore in the year of our Lord 1486, on the Sunday called *Cantate*, when the brethren of our province were met together there in chapter, they displayed those relics to us, and let us handle them and kiss them. Among them is the iron of that most holy lance of the Lord, which the citizens of Nüremberg suffered each one of the brethren to touch with his own hands, out of the especial reverence which they bore to the Order. There we saw and put upon our own heads the exceeding precious gold crown of Charles the Great, all set with jewels, and we saw the golden sceptre, the golden apple, the golden spurs, and the rest of the imperial regalia, all of which had been brought to Nüremberg that same week from Frankfort, where the glorious and victorious Maximilian, Duke of Austria, son of the great Frederick III., had been elected King of the Romans and invested with these sacred insignia.

See how widely my wanderings cause me to wander throughout the world! Now I will return to Jerusalem, which after the departure [268 *a*] of Charles the Great remained at peace for some years. The Westerns were admitted to the holy places without any hindrance, and the heathen, who held the kingdom of Jerusalem, did not vex the pilgrims who journeyed thither. For Charles did not restore the kingdom to the Christians, nor make it subject to himself, but merely restored peace between the Christians and the heathen, which, however, did not long endure. But as long as the peace lasted the Westerns daily visited the holy places in great troops, and slept at night in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, because there was no dwelling-place for Latins in the city; for as yet there were no hospitals, neither was there any Latin

church, but the Greeks performed service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and in the other churches. Now, it befell in these days that Apulian merchants brought certain strange wares, hitherto unknown in the East, to Alexandria to make a profit by selling them there. These wares are believed to have been hazel-nuts, as is explained in Part II., page 127 *b*. These wares were brought as exceeding precious things to the King of Egypt, who also ruled over Arabia, Palestine, and Judaea. The king, attracted by the novelty of these wares, promised the merchants that in return for them he would grant them any boon which they might crave of him. So they asked and obtained leave to build a dwelling-place for Latin pilgrims in any part of Jerusalem that they might choose. They therefore built a monastery in honour of the blessed Virgin Mary in front of the door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and placed therein an abbot and Latin monks. Now, since it was the Latins who did this, they called the place itself St. Mary the Latin, and this church stood scarce a stone's-throw from the Lord's sepulchre. The abbot and monks were men of great piety, received over-sea pilgrims with all possible kindness, and treated them with much humanity. As a multitude of pilgrims flowed thither, both men and women, the men were received into the guest-house of the monastery, but the women lodged without its walls, as best they could, and sometimes they were molested by the Saracens and suffered loss thereby. So the monks, after calling upon Mary the helper of pilgrims to aid them, built, near their own monastery, against the wall of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, another monastery for women on the left hand as one enters the church, which was called St. Mary Magdalen's, wherein women pilgrims were received and

well treated. Thus the condition of Western pilgrims in Jerusalem was improved in the time of the infidels, who, nevertheless, besides laying many other burthens upon them, would not suffer them to visit the holy places without paying them for leave to do so in peace, even as at this day.

Thus did the Christians fare for more than one hundred years, from the days of Charles to those of Henry I., at which time, A.D. 1015, there arose a certain man of sin, an instrument of the devil, the scourge of the people of Christ, the destroyer of the holy sepulchre, named the Caliph, King of Egypt, who in his frenzy swept from the earth the peace and concord which had been made by Charles the Great between the Christians and the Saracens. This man was born of a Christian mother, and when he became King of the Saracens, lest he should be thought to be guided by his mother, began to rage cruelly against the Christians. He forced the Christians to abjure their faith, laid exceeding heavy taxes upon them, and vexed them in many other ways. Nothing stirred him up to cruelty against the Christians so bitterly as the reproach that he himself was of Christian blood, whereof he was greatly ashamed, and therefore he raged against them with singular cruelty, to the end that by so doing he might prove that he had not a drop of Christian blood, and was not swayed by love toward the Christians. [b] Among other evil deeds which he wrought was the following: he entered the Holy City with a great host, and cast down the crown of the Christians to the ground; for he ordered that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been splendidly built by Constantine the First and Great, should be destroyed and utterly ruined, while he desecrated the churches of Mount Sion and Bethlehem, and dedicated

them to the foul worship of Mahomet. When this was done the condition of the faithful at Jerusalem became worse through the exceeding bitter grief which they felt at the ruin of the church. Furthermore, he forbade the Christians any longer to hold their holy services, or to meet together for divine worship; and thus they were in exceeding heavy tribulation by reason of their daily vexations, and in the deepest sorrow because of the ruin of the holy sepulchre and of the church thereof.

Hence it is clear that the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which was built by Helena, stood for seven hundred years, at the end of which it was totally destroyed. Howbeit, in the year of our Lord 1049 the Divine clemency came, bringing no small comfort to the ruined Christians; for the aforesaid tyrant was then removed from this world, leaving an heir who was better than himself, and all this trouble came to an end. Daher, his eldest son, as soon as he became king, entered into a treaty and compact with the Emperor of Constantinople, and was tolerably kindly disposed towards the Christians. At this time the holy Pope, Leo IX., a German by birth, saw a vision in his sleep, and thereafter stirred up the Emperor of Constantinople to rebuild the Lord's sepulchre in Jerusalem, which had been destroyed thirty-seven years before by the barbarians. So now, at the request of the Emperor of Constantinople, Daher the Saracen gave leave to the Christians to rebuild the temple of the Lord's sepulchre in Jerusalem. The Christians therefore went up thither with great joy, and began to build a new church over the Lord's sepulchre, after the pattern of the earlier one, towards the expenses of which restoration the Emperor Constantine largely contributed. Thus, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that now is was built in the aforesaid year, twenty-five years

before the recovery of the Holy Land, which was performed by Godfrey, as will be hereafter set forth. And as the Jews and people of Israel had only two temples, following one another, to wit, that of Solomon and that of Esra, or Zerubbabel, even so the Christians have had two temples, to wit, Helena's temple and that which stands at this day. The first stood for seven hundred years, and the second, which is now standing, has stood for four hundred and fifty years, seeing that we are now in the year 1488. After the church had been rebuilt, when the Christians would have visited it after the fashion of their religion, the Saracens would not suffer them to go the round of the holy places in peace, but taxed them in money, or vexed them with blows, and there was much hatred and indignation between them; for then also the Saracens bore rule over that country and raged furiously against Christian strangers therein, so that all Christendom was stirred up by the complaints of the pilgrims, became enraged against the Saracens, and earnestly desired to shake off their yoke, whereby they had been so long and so sorely oppressed. From the time of Hamor, the Saracen prince who ascended the throne of Egypt in the time of the Emperor Heraclius, down to the time of Godfrey, the first of the Latin Kings of Jerusalem, who lived in the time of (the Emperor) Henry III., the Holy City was subjected to the yoke of the Saracens for a period of about four hundred and ninety years. Indeed, though the Emperors Heraclius and Constantine III. and Charles the Great did in some degree set free the Holy City and the Lord's sepulchre, yet they never did so altogether; but the heathen always bore rule over the Christians, a rule which the aforesaid Emperors rendered less burthensome, but which they never did away with, for they obtained peace between the two peoples by covenants,

[269 *a*] and therefore their settings free of the Holy Land were imperfect, and such as could not endure, more especially between men who could not be brought to agree in religion, such as are the Christians and Saracens, between whom there is also a natural enmity and the dislike which is bred of different race, way of life, habits and religion.

A CHAPTER WHICH TREATS OF THE COMPLETE FREEING OF JERUSALEM AND OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE BY THE WESTERN NATIONS.

THE redemption and complete setting free of the Lord's sepulchre, of the city of Jerusalem, and of the whole of the Holy Land, was brought about in the time of the German Emperor Henry, the third of that name, who was a Bavarian, and Pope Urban, the second of that name. Indeed, the predecessors of these princes had often taken counsel about this matter in their solemn meetings, diets, and other assemblies of princes and bishops, and had even begun the work, but never brought it to any good effect. Thus, in the time of the Emperor Henry II., and Pope Victor II., a German, in a council held at Tours, a famous city in France, in the year of our Lord 1055, it was determined that the Holy Land should be set free. At that time Othus, Count of Angleria and Prince of Milan, was notable for his great wisdom, and his vast knowledge of the conduct of public affairs, insomuch that he was a man of exceeding great value both for peace and for war. This man, whose courage was known to all those who met at this synod of Tours, was chosen to be the captain of the Lord's host which was to fight against the Turks and Saracens for the setting free of the holy sepulchre of the Lord in Jerusalem. He agreed to the request of the Pope and other Kings with a single mind, and set out for Jeru-

salem with the rest. Here he passed the winter with the other Christians besieging the city, and wrought much hurt and mischief to the Saracens. He brought the Holy City into great straits, yet could he by no means take it. Now, while he was sitting down before it, an Arab named Volucer, a heathen prince from beyond Jordan, perceiving that he was a bold man, challenged Othus through an interpreter to single combat, a proposal which the latter willingly received, so that on the sixth day thereafter both of them came forth on horseback armed for the fight. Othus bore upon his shield seven chaplets, because he had overthrown seven exceeding brave warriors with a single stroke of his sword. Volux (*sic*) had different armorial bearings, for from his helmet there arose a brazen viper,¹ wondrously wreathed and coiled about, having in its mouth a clothed child, which as far as the ribs was swallowed, but whose head and shoulders were still outside, and whose widely-open mouth seemed to be calling for aid. Bearing those ensigns, they both took their places in the lists, which were in the Fuller's Field before the holy city of Jerusalem, where at the first onset Othus cast Volux headlong from his horse, and, straightway brandishing his mace, broke his skull so that his brains were all scattered on the ground. When he was dead Othus took off his helmet and carried it away with him, together with his other spoils, and so after raising the siege he returned to Europe, because his army was too small. When he came to Milan he offered this armorial device to Christ and the Church, and took the viper as his own bearing and that of his successors for ever. So at the present day the Dukes of Milan and the rest of the Visconti family may be seen bearing it, and

¹ For the legend of the Visconti viper, see Litta's 'Famiglie celebri Italiane,' Milan, 1831; Tasso, canto i., stanza 55; Dante, 'Purgatorio,' canto viii., etc.

they stamp their money with the figure of the viper. This money is now current and esteemed throughout all Germany, and brings in much profit to the state of Milan; the greater of its coins are called old *blaffardi*, the lesser *spagurlines*, the middle-sized ones *trigeras*.

So the aforesaid general Othus came home again and told the Pope and all the princes of the West that Jerusalem and the Holy Land could not be taken unless an exceeding great host, and a very strong one withal, were sent across the seas.

Next, in the year 1063, a great German host gathered together for the pilgrimage to the Lord's sepulchre in the Holy Land. Siphred (? Siegfried), Archbishop of Mainz; William, Bishop of Treves; Gunther, Bishop of Bamberg; and Otho, Bishop of Ratisbon, with many nobles and followers, set out for Jerusalem by land, meaning to cross the Euxine Sea. When they came into Bulgaria, they were sorely vexed by those Northern peoples; howbeit, they came with much tribulation to Asia, and reached the confines of Syria. But the governor of that province, when he heard of the approach of the Christians, gathered together an army of Turks and marched against our bishops. Our people, being overpowered by numbers, took refuge in an ancient castle, where they patched up the breaches of the old wall, and so made it into a stronghold.

The Turks essayed to take this fortress by storm, but could not do so, and continued to attack the place for two days and nights in succession. On the third day, when peace was proclaimed for an hour that they might recruit their strength, our men begged the Turks to send their governors and captains to make terms of peace. So six of the most puissant of the Turks came to our people, and our people opened the gate and conferred with them for a long time, finding the Turks most contrary-minded; for

our bishops offered to give all that they had, and promised much more, if they might return home with their base lives ; yet these Turks showed no pity, and would not be satisfied save with the death or abject servitude of their lordships. Meanwhile our people, seeing in what straits they were, had secretly sent forth servants who knew the country to run with speed to the Emir and Captain of Rama, and to promise him much money, which soon would have to be paid over to these other infidels. After these messengers had been sent out, our people begged the barbarians to grant them terms, and offered them money ; but they cared only for getting their persons into their power, either to put them to death or to make them the lowest of slaves, and they could get no other answer than this. But now our men, being driven to desperation, fell upon the Saracens who had come into their fortress and put them in irons. When their army learned this, they essayed to break down the wall, and attacked it with missiles, darts, and military engines ; but our men set up their great men and captains in bonds on the most dangerous parts of the wall, [b] and thus quelled their attack. They called upon God with exceeding frequent prayer, and, lo ! help came to them ; for the Emir of Rama, a Saracen, collected together an army of Saracens, came to the place, and drove away the Turks, forcing them to raise the siege. Our people sallied forth from their stronghold, followed the flying enemy, plundered them, and caught many, whom they hung upon gibbets. Afterwards they put to death the captured captains with frightful tortures. This deliverance of the bishops took place on Easter Even, the vigil of Easter Sunday. Now, when they set out from Germany, they had decided that they would pass the days of the Lord's passion and ascension at the holy places in Jerusalem, but this siege hindered them. So now the aforesaid

Saracen brought those pilgrims safe to Jerusalem, and, after being rewarded by them, went home again. When the pilgrim bishops returned to Germany, they went by sea, and gave up the land journey lest they might a second time fall a prey to the Turks; for the Turks hold Asia Minor and all the land even up to Syria; from thence begins the empire of the Soldan—and oftentimes the Turks and Saracens are at variance, as I imagine they used to be in those days also.

In A.D. 1070 Theodoric, the Archbishop of Treves, essayed to make the journey to Jerusalem by sea; but his ship was wrecked in a storm at sea, and he and all his followers perished.

After this, the Saracens and Turks began not only to beset Jerusalem and the Holy Land more fiercely than before, but to push everywhere into Christendom; but at that time the empire of Constantinople was so minished by the Turks that they could scarce hold Thrace, Galatia, Pontus, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Achaia; and from these provinces the Turks and the Saracens daily used to filch away some part, and embittered the lives of the Christians who dwelt among them. More especially the Christians in Jerusalem and the Holy Land were ill-treated; for in the year of our Lord 1082 the Boreades or Turks fell upon Palestine with an armed host and laid waste the country with fire and sword, while they plundered the city of Jerusalem, miserably slaughtered the Christians whom they found there, and desecrated the holy sepulchre with many foul outrages. Meanwhile, the Lord Emperor of Constantinople sent ambassadors to the Roman Emperor, Henry III., and to the princes of the West, set forth what had come to pass, and begged them to come to the rescue of the Holy Land. In the reign of Pope Urban II. and the Emperor Henry III. there was a hermit in France

named Peter, a man of great wisdom and incomparable holiness. This man, beyond all doubt moved by the Holy Spirit, left his peaceful solitude and betook himself to holy wanderings. He set out with many other pilgrims, crossed the sea, and came to the Lord's sepulchre in the Holy Land, where, as he kissed the holy places, he felt the strength and fervency of his devotion. When he saw those most holy places irreverently trampled on by the infidels, the venerable patriarch of the place, Simeon, and his clergy, spurned and contemned, the other Christians oppressed, and the pilgrims vexatiously treated, he was sorely grieved, and his heart was wrung at such iniquity. Wherefore, on the eve of the feast of Easter, when he was come into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to keep vigil on that most sacred night, he withdrew himself into a retired corner of the church that he might the more quietly and attentively devote himself to the praise of God, and there, with a serious mind and troubled spirit, he prayed with many tears, saying: 'How long, O Lord God, shall Thy holy places be trodden underfoot, Thy priests spurned, Thy faithful people oppressed, Thy pilgrims laughed to scorn and vexatiously used? Give ear, O Lord, and do this thing; set free the land which Thou gavest to my fathers, and this city, which Thou hast ever ennobled by Thy teaching and miracles, which Thou hast sanctified by Thy precious blood and Thy cross, and which by Thy glorious resurrection Thou hast rendered most famous throughout all the world.' Saying this and the like prayers, the holy man, meaning to rest his wearied limbs for awhile, sat down on the pavement leaning his head against the wall, and thus began to sleep with his body, though his mind remained instant in most wakeful prayer to the Lord. Lo, he beheld the Lord Jesus come forth in splendour from His sepulchre, and say, looking upon him, 'Arise, Peter,

and haste thee to Rome, and say unto Urban, the Pope of Rome, Thus saith the Lord : As of old I brought a light to the West from the East, even so now from the West will I bring a light to the East and to the city of Jerusalem because of My great name, and I will give My holy sepulchre to them of the West, that they may serve Me and manifest Me to the unbelievers, and may do reverence to the holy places of the redemption of mankind.' After saying these words, the vision disappeared ; but Peter, who did not doubt the truth of what he had heard, returned to Europe, entered the court of Rome, boldly went up to Pope Urban II., and simply told him the message wherewith he had been charged. The Lord opened the Pope's mind, and he perceived that the thing was of God. Straightway he called together a general council at Clermont in Auvergne, in the year of our Lord 1094, persuaded the assembly to send out a host to fight the Saracens for the recovery of Jerusalem, and marked three hundred thousand men with the cross. He consecrated the host of the cross-bearers to the most blessed Virgin Mary, and ordered that the hours of the blessed Virgin Mary should be said daily by priests, to the end that she might become the protectress of her army. To Peter the hermit he gave papal Bulls, and sent him to the kings and princes of the West, that they might hasten to the rescue of the Holy Land, according to the command of the Lord God which He revealed to Peter.

So now [270 *a*] Peter set out to the kings and princes, and the chief men and governors of provinces, by all of whom he was received like the angel of the Lord, and listened to with the greatest meekness. Forthwith all men made ready to obey the commandment of the Lord and of the Pope. Indeed, this was a great charge that was laid upon them, that they should hearken to a poor

low-born, unknown, ignorant man, without seeing or being shown any miracle, or having heard any eloquent preaching, but only to believe his plain words ; yet the Pope, and all the most learned cardinals, and all the clergy and religious people, obeyed his call, and the Emperor, the lord of the world, with all the kings, governors, and counts, gave him their faith without any proofs or even any witnesses being brought forward. Of a truth, that people was better-minded than the people of Israel, who, even after seeing wondrous and unheard-of miracles, could hardly be brought to believe Moses. As this story flew about Europe, all men flocked together, urged by a most burning desire, from Spain, Provence, Aquitaine, Brittany, Scotland, England, Normandy, France, Lorraine, Burgundy, and Germany, from Alemannia, or the land of the Teutons, both north and west, from the shores of the North Sea and of the Mediterranean Sea, from most puissant kingdoms, from Lombardy, Italy, Apulia, Dalmatia, Hungary, and Illyria, from all the isles of ocean and of the Mediterranean and Pontic Seas, and from European Greece, which lies on our side of the Hellespont, and contains Thrace, Macedon, Epirus, Achaia, and Peloponnese, all of which countries were at that time Christian, but now belong to the Turk, even to the confines of Illyria, Hungary, Pannonia, and Dalmatia. From all these countries men flocked and gathered together like lions who scent their prey, nor was there, in all the regions which the West contains, one single house that stood idle, but from one the house-father, from another the son, from a third the whole family, were making ready for their journey, were taking their leave with sobs and sighs, and were saying 'Farewell' for the last time. Indeed, the medicine became greater than the disease, for some were swayed by the desire of going to Jerusalem till they forgot

their duty at home, and many hermits and cloistered monks and maidens, many husbands bound by the ties of marriage, and many nuns broke the bonds of their obedience without leave or license, started forth from their cloister, and mingled with the ranks of armed men. When they demanded to be marked with the sign of the cross, and were thought by the bishops who conferred that sign to be useless, and were counselled by them to go home again, some of them would show the marks of the nails of the cross miraculously imprinted on their bodies, and others, even girls and old women, would boast that they bore these marks. Others cruelly burned themselves with hot irons to mark themselves with the sign of the cross, and the fervour and zeal of all classes of Christians was wondrous. Leaders and captains were set over all and singular of the armed bands by their princes and bishops, but by the Apostolic authority that noble and invincible warrior the Lord Godfrey, Count of Gallacia (*sic*) and Duke of Lorraine, was named chief and captain-general of the whole army, and governed all the bands thereof. He, like another Judas Maccabeus, together with his brethren and noble friends, undertook to wage war in the cause of the Lord, and had in his host many exceeding valiant men at arms, noblemen, barons, counts, and knights, the entire spiritual charge of whom was undertaken by the exemplary Haymer, Bishop of Padua. The aforesaid Peter ran to and fro throughout all countries, and gathered together a great and strong army, of about forty thousand armed men, whom he led. So likewise other great men, on whom the people looked with favour, gathered men about them, and for three whole years this expedition was prepared, before the hosts set out on their way. Indeed, there came together kings, dukes, counts, barons, knights, soldiers, powerful men and despots, rulers of counties, noblemen

and plebeians, rich and poor, townsmen and countrymen, citizens and serfs, freemen and slaves, laymen and ecclesiastics, priests and monks, bishops, abbots, cardinals, men and women under religious vows, old men and youths, old women and girls, widows and wives, [b] and the host of the living God swelled to such vast numbers that William (of Tyre) saith: 'Never were so many nations seen to agree in one purpose, and the numbers of the men were beyond belief, for by some calculations there were said to be six millions of men marked with the sign of the cross, who were making themselves ready for war.' Among these, as I have said, that most invincible leader Godfrey stood pre-eminent, being the captain-general of all the hosts, under whom the several captains were appointed to each band. When all was thus prepared, in the year of our Lord 1097, the hosts began to march away from their gathering-places. But forasmuch as neither the sea alone nor the land alone could find space for such a great multitude, they divided it into hosts, the hosts into legions, the legions into armies, the armies into troops, each of them led by captains, under whom were captains of hundreds and captains of tens; and so they went down to the sea in separate bodies to divers ports, while very many, both horse and foot, went through Hungary into Dalmatia, and so entered Greece. Some went round about the Euxine Sea and the Maeotic Marsh (Sea of Azov), and came through the Colchian land into Cappadocia; so this great multitude was forced to seek the longest ways about.

As for the dangers which befell God's people through want of necessities, from surfeits, from quarrels among themselves, from pestilence, and from the attacks of the foe, it would take long to tell of them. Whoso wishes to read thereof may consult Vincentius of Beauvais, in his

Speculum Historiale, Book XXXI., ch. xcii., and many other writers.

What the Christians suffered at the hands of the enemy and of infidels might have been borne; but the evils which they brought upon themselves, the hindrances they met with from the Hungarians and Greeks, and the slaughter wrought by them among their men-at-arms, were too grievous to be endured. To mention only one case out of many, there was a certain German priest, named Gondecalcus, a brave and daring man, whose genius inclined more to fighting than to saying Mass. This man gathered together an army of fifteen thousand armed men from the common people of Germany. When they were come into Hungary, and had sacked some of the villages there to supply their wants, the King of Hungary fell upon them, and wrought a most inhuman slaughter among them, not distinguishing the innocent from the guilty, and so broke up that army that not one man took part in the crusade as he intended, but only a few who had escaped from the sword of the Hungarians went sorrowfully home to Germany. As for the injuries which were done to God's people by the Emperor of Constantinople, a great book could hardly suffice to tell of them all. The same thing befell the Christians in this expedition as befell the Romans when they set out to attack Carthage, for when, after gathering together an exceeding great army, they were come into Africa, intending to fight against Carthage, as they came to a certain river there fell upon their legions an enormous beast, a most cruel serpent, who slew many men; and they were so shrewdly bested by this single creature that they were forced to bring all their engines of war to bear upon it. After many had fallen, the beast was at length overpowered and crushed with stones. Its hide measured seventy feet, and when brought

to Rome struck all who beheld it with wonder and terror. So now when that glorious man Godfrey came with his own forces to Constantinople, he determined to wait there till the rest of his host joined him, forasmuch as he was already on the borders of the country of the infidel Turks, and if he crossed the Hellespont he could not pass through the Turkish lands without fighting. When all the legions were met together, there was formed one army of the living God ; and on a review of the legions there were found to be seven hundred thousand foot-men and one hundred thousand mailed horsemen ; and, moreover, many men kept coming up and joining the legions. Now, all these left Constantinople, took ship across the Hellespont—that is, the arm of St. George¹—and so passed from Thrace into Bithynia. This Hellespont is a narrow arm of the channel whereby the Mediterranean Sea runs into the Euxine Sea, so narrow that one whose business requires it can pass three or four times in one day from Thrace to Bithynia, from Constantinople to Chalcedon, and back again. When they were come into Bithynia, a province of Asia Minor, they passed by all other villages and towns, and went straight down to Nicaea, an exceeding populous city, which they besieged [271 *a*] and took on the 20th of June, A.D. 1097. But the chief of the enemy, Solyman the Turk, Lord of Nicaea, with many others, escaped from them, and they scoured the country, and got together an army to fight us. After matters had been set in order at Nicaea, the army set out, and marched down from Bithynia into Pamphylia with much toil. Here they were met by Solyman with a great host of infidels. They joined battle, and by the grace of God our people put the infidels to flight, slaughtering about three thousand picked men-at-arms ; while on our side of

¹ Cf. Giraldus Cambrensis, 'De Instructione Principum,' dist. iii., ch. xx.

the almost unarmed people there fell about six thousand. Thence from the province of Pamphylia they came down into the land of Cilicia, routed the foe, and took the most ancient and noble city of Tarsus in Cilicia, together with the other cities of that country. For an account of this land see Part II., page 138. Marching onward from thence, the army came by many stages into Coele Syria, to the glorious city of Antioch, which once held the third place in dignity to Rome itself, and was the chief and mistress of all the provinces in the East. This city was in ancient times called Riblatha (2 Kings xxv. 20, 21; Jer. xxxix. 5, 6), and here the sons of Zedekiah, King of Jerusalem, were slain before his eyes, and Zedekiah's eyes were put out. After the death of Alexander the Great of Macedonia, Antiochus fortified this place with walls and towers, made it the capital city of his empire, and called it Antioch after his own name. Herein Peter, the chief of the Apostles, sat as bishop for seven years, illustrious for his doctrine and the miracles which he wrought. Herein was held the first congregation of the faithful, at which the name of Christians was given to them, for heretofore those who followed the teaching of Christ had been called Nazarenes or disciples, but afterwards by a name taken from Christ; by the authority of that synod the whole body of the faithful were called Christians, as is told in the Acts (xi. 26). The patriarch of this city is said to have twenty provinces under his jurisdiction.

The city stands in the province of Coele Syria, and occupies an exceeding convenient and beautiful position. It is nearly all of it well watered by fountains and streams, and within the circuit of the walls there are two exceeding high hills, whereof the one which seems the higher of the two bears upon its crest a strongly-fortified castle. These two hills are divided by a very deep but narrow valley, through

which a stream runs into the midst of the city. Some say that the city measures two, some three, Italian miles in length, and it is ten or twelve miles distant from the sea. The Turks have for a long time wrongfully borne rule over this city, notwithstanding that Mahomet while he was alive did not dare to approach it ; but in his Alcoran he mentions four cities, two as blessed—to wit, Jerusalem and Mecca ; two as accursed—to wit, Antioch and Rome.

During its siege, a great man among the Turks was governor there, named Euexianus of Persia. When our people came to this very strong city, they besieged it for eight months, during which siege our army suffered grievously, and was often harassed by unexpected sallies of the citizens, and many misfortunes befell them before its walls. Wherefore all the people cried aloud that the siege should be raised, and had there not been a certain captain who opposed the raising of the siege, it would have been done to their disgrace. This captain was secretly plotting the betrayal of the city into his hands, which was done. The city was taken in the year of our Lord 1098. The besiegers, when they broke into the city, slew all whom they met, and wrought much mischief therein. There were no victuals in the city, forasmuch as they had eaten them all during the long siege ; but they found great store of gold and silver and precious things. On the third day after the taking of the city, one Corbonach, a very puissant Persian prince, who had been begged by the people of Antioch to help them, came to their aid with exceeding great forces, and built a rampart all round the city. Thus the Christians, who a few days before had been besieging the city, and had made it their own, by an utter change, such as often befalls in human affairs, became besieged in their turn, and suffered beyond measure from the want of food. They were so shut in that no man

could leave the city or come into it, and the position of our people was greatly changed for the worse. There was so great scarcity of victuals in the city that the people were fain to content themselves with foul and unnatural food; even the delicately-nurtured had nothing better to eat than the rest, and there was no distinction observed between clean and unclean meats. Why say much about it? Camels, asses, horses, mules, and all manner of unclean beasts, were thought to be delicacies by those who had the chance to eat of them; and to get food of this sort, which is piteous even to look upon, men went about with downcast looks, begging throughout the streets and lanes of the city, strong men and nobles mixed up with the rabble. No history tells us of such great princes, and so great an army, which so patiently endured such great scarcity and misery. While Christ's people were being thus afflicted, the Lord beheld their suffering, and sent sweet consolation to them. There was in the host a simple man, greatly devoted to the Apostle St. Andrew, to whom St. Andrew revealed himself while he slept, and told him that the enemy could not be put to flight save with the spear wherewith the side of the Lord Jesus was pierced on the cross. Moreover, the Apostle clearly pointed out to his devotee the place in St. Peter's church where the holy spear lay beneath the earth. On the morrow the man arose, and told his vision to the bishops and princes; they went in procession to the spot which had been pointed out, and after digging some way into the earth they found a spear which they carried about with great joy, though many scoffed at it and doubted. But a soldier made a fire thirteen feet long in the middle of the street, and, taking the spear in his hand, walked through it unhurt, whereat the Lord's army was greatly encouraged. For owing to their sufferings dissensions had broken out in the city, and

many princes were secretly considering and plotting means to escape with their bare lives ; but after the finding of the holy spear they bound themselves together by a new oath, and swore by the Lord that they would not leave one another without restoring the Holy City to its former freedom. At a council of the elders and chiefs, a day was fixed whereon they would meet the enemy and fight him. So on the night before the twenty-fifth day of their beleaguerment there was no rest, but all men made themselves ready to fight in the morning. With their arms girt on, they heard Masses in the churches in the twilight, confessed their sins, and partook of the Eucharist. By this Communion so much grace was given to the people that they who yesterday or the day before were helpless and useless, scarce able to step over the threshold of their house, now came forth, and each vowed to out-do the rest in battle. The bishops and other clergy in their sacred vestments blessed the people as they went forth to fight. When the ranks were formed and the gates thrown open, just as the host was marching out of the city, an exceeding sweet dew fell and besprinkled all our host, whereby both men and beasts were alike refreshed. Our people marched slowly toward the enemy, bearing with them the Lord's spear, and by God's help, after an exceeding bitter fight, both wings of the enemy were broken, the line of the infidels gave way, and all their troops took to flight, pursued by our people, who struck and slew them even to the going down of the sun. When the battle was over our people came back to the enemy's camp, where they found such abundance of all necessary things, such great store [272 a] of the riches of the East, the gold, silver, gems, and precious stuffs could neither be measured nor counted ; moreover, such plenty of cattle and food was found there, that they who ere now had been in the greatest

want now knew not what to choose of the good things before them. They gained this victory A.D. 1098.

After this they made ready to march toward Jerusalem ; they set out on the first day of September, and after passing through many countries, and taking many cities by storm along the seacoast, they came into Syria, and sat themselves down before Tripoli, a great and exceeding strong city by the sea, intending to take it. The people of Tripoli came forth to fight our people, but straightway were panic-stricken by a miracle, turned their backs, and ran back into the city. Now, after our people had besieged this city for some time, they began to murmur because of their labours and their impatience to reach Jerusalem. There was dissension among them, for the nobles, princes, and potentates wanted to conquer every place even to Jerusalem, while the rabble and common people thought that Jerusalem ought to be conquered first, and that then the country round about might be attacked from thence. So the princes, wishing to content the people, raised the siege of Tripoli, marched down the coast, and on the third day came to Beyrouth, a great city by the sea. Beyrouth was once a Roman colony, as Jerome tells us in his account of the life and death of Paula ; but now it belongs to the Soldan, and therein is a port for the use of both Saracen and Christian merchants. From thence they came to the city of Sidon, and passed Tyre, both of which they found to be great cities by the seashore, strongly fortified, and ready to repel attack. Going farther on their way, they came into the plain of Ptolemais, a great and exceeding strong city by the seashore. All the coast of Palestine was stricken dumb at the approach of our army, and stood in great fear. Proceeding further, they came near Mount Carmel, leaving Galilee on their left hand, and passing by Caesarea of Palestine, which is by the seaside, they marked

out a camp in the field not far from Caesarea. While they were there a hawk sorely wounded a pigeon which was flying over the army, so that it fell down. Upon it was found a letter which it was carrying, which ran thus: 'King Acharon to the Governor of Caesarea wishes health. A generation of dogs, a quarrelsome people, is coming. Defend thy law against them by thyself and by others, and bid the other cities do likewise.' This letter came into the hands of our princes. Indeed, pigeons are used as royal messengers in Eastern countries, as is explained in Part II., page 85.

They broke up their camp and marched thence, and on the third day came nigh unto Joppa, over against which they pitched their camp in the field. But learning that not far off was the noble and rich city of Ramula, they sent on the Count of Flanders in advance with five hundred horsemen, who found the city empty, and all of them entered it without opposition; for the inhabitants of the city, when they heard of the approach of our army, were panic-stricken and fled into the mountains of Judaea to save their lives, leaving all that they had behind in the city. When our people heard this they brought their forces into the city and abode there for three days, for which time they found sufficient victuals in the city.

HOW JERUSALEM WAS TAKEN BY OUR PEOPLE.

The holy city Jerusalem was taken by our people in this wise. When they who dwelt in Jerusalem heard of the coming of the Christians, and knew for a truth that all that multitude which was said to be coming had the special and particular intention of winning that city, they fortified it with all possible care, collected food and arms of all kinds, rebuilt the walls and towers, renewing the parts which had fallen into ruins through age. They

placed a garrison of their choicest warriors in Jerusalem, and had forty thousand men ready to drive back the Christians from its walls ; they also dug a ditch and set up a rampart round about the city ; and they emptied all the cisterns of waters in the valleys, and built a fort over the fountain of Siloam, that the people might not find water. Moreover, they agreed with one consent to slay all the faithful who dwelt with them in Jerusalem, to utterly overthrow the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, to tear away the Lord's sepulchre therefrom, and to sweep the rock Calvary off the face of the earth, so that the Christians might not come thither to worship these places if they were destroyed. But afterwards, on more prudent reflection, they saw that by so doing they would arouse greater hatred among us against themselves, wherefore they suffered them all to stand uninjured. As for all the Christians of both sexes, both young and old, who dwelt with them in Jerusalem, they stripped them of all their goods, even to the skin, despitefully used them, and drove them out of the city, together with their patriarch. When these people were driven out they came down into our host, and brought with them an account of all the defences and position of the Holy City. When our men heard this they hastened to break up their camp, and marched up from Rama into the mountains of Judaea. When at last they beheld the Holy City, for whose sake they had undergone so many labours and so many dangers, they wept for joy, glorified God, and drew near the city with songs and merry-making. When they were come into the Fuller's Field, which is a great field on the west side of the city, they divided their hosts, and girded the whole city round about. They pitched their tents on the Mount of Olives, on the Mount of Offence, and on Mount Gihon, and they raised a rampart round the holy and beloved city as

though it were their enemy. The Saracens had built many works for the defence of the city without the walls, whereof the whole were destroyed in one hour by our people. This siege was begun in the year of our Lord 1099, on the seventh day of the month of June, and it endured for thirty-five days, even to the eleventh day of July. Now, as for what the Saracens did with the Jews who dwelt in the city, I do not find any mention, and I believe that they were counted among the Saracens and remained there till the end ; for albeit these two nations dislike one another, yet they always agree as against Christians, as is clear from history, for in the time of the Emperor Justinian the Jews and Saracens in the Holy Land banded themselves together against the Christians, made a great and cruel slaughter among them, and tried to sweep them utterly away, but the aforesaid Emperor came to their succour and overthrew the Jews and Saracens with terrible destruction.

Now, on the fifth day after our army had come to the city, all men with one accord girt on their arms, and our people suffered no small hurt from the city walls ; for the city, as I have said, was well fenced and provided with all things needful for resistance. For that time the assault of our people was beaten off, and many wounded were borne away into the camp. In the same fashion our people on other days strove to break down the wall, yet brought away from the walls nought save the dead corpses and wounded bodies of their brethren in arms. Moreover, the want of necessaries, of bread and water, more especially the want of water, began to be unbearable for our people, seeing that the greater part of the commonalty were sickening through the drought and thirst. But whensoever they tried to assault the city, they met with such a stout defence that our people had no longer any hope of

winning the victory by their own strength, and clearly understood that they could not take the city without the Divine aid or a miracle of some sort. Wherefore sermons were preached in every band throughout the host, bidding each man turn unto God with all his heart, and walk bare-foot round the city praying daily, which they did, and not only priests and common men, but princes and captains, first among whom was always the magnificent Godfrey, the chief and captain of the entire host. On the eighth day of this humiliation, that is, on the eleventh of July, they all with one accord attacked the city and fought from early morning until noon. Many of our men fell, and all were wearied to no purpose; wherefore after such mighty toil they began to slacken, and by degrees the people, wearied out [273*a*] with labour and hunger, fell away and ceased to fight. Seeing this, the enemy on the walls and towers shouted aloud and insulted our people, scoffing at them. They cursed the host of the living God, and danced and sang for joy upon the walls, and ceased not to jeer at our men and ask them to come back. But this their vain joy did not long endure, but was the sign of their coming ruin, seeing that pride goeth before destruction, as is said in Prov. xvi. 18. Herein they showed themselves foolish, for that they enraged and embittered so great a host against them, for it is written in Eccclus. vii. 12: 'Laugh no man to scorn in the bitterness of his soul, for there is one which humbleth and exalteth'; and Prov. xxvii.: 'Wrath is cruel, and anger is outrageous; but who is able to stand against envy?' Neither had they read the teaching of that great philosopher who is accounted one of the seven sages of the world, who saith that we should in no wise scoff at an unfortunate man.

Now, when our people heard the taunts cast in their teeth, and received derision, curses, and blasphemies, they stood as

it were in doubt between two extremes, forasmuch as they could in no wise bear to receive the injuries which were poured upon them without wreaking vengeance for the same, yet they were all but in despair as to how they might take the city of their insulters. As they stood thus in confusion, lo! of a sudden, the Divine power appeared amongst them, and brought help to the faithful in their despair. From the Mount of Olives there rode down to our host a knight clad in shining armour, mounted on a brave steed, who, with his flashing lance, signed to our troops to return and renew the assault. After he had given this signal he could nowhere be seen, nor can it be doubted that he was Michael, the chief of the Christian host, or, as the Lombardic legend says, it was the knight St. George, raised from the dead to help the Christian host, even as Mercury of old was raised up to fight against Julian the Apostate and his host, of which we are told in ecclesiastical history. On beholding this sign our army was gladdened, and returned to the attack upon the city with greater courage than before, with so great a fervency of zeal that those men who before this, weary and broken down with labour or suffering, and weakened by wounds, had been hanging back, now with renewed spirit pressed on more bravely than all, and of their own accord presented themselves to the enemy. Such joy was aroused in our camp that, as though now sure of the victory, within the space of one hour they had filled up the ditch, broken through the palisades of the barrier, and brought up the military engines close to the city wall. Beneath these engines they sheltered themselves, so that they could not be struck by stones shot from the walls, and they themselves beneath the engines could make their way up to the wall; for at that time those terrible weapons, cannons, were not yet invented—they are said to have been dis-

covered by a certain German about the year of Christ 1360—but they had only engines to hurl great stones. Now, our warriors had made a great and high tower of basket-work, like unto a castle, and filled it with earth and stones, in such sort that whoso stood behind it was safe from the shot from the walls. This tower or fortalice stood upon wheels, and was movable. The enemy had hung exceeding great and tall trees against the wall to break the force of the battering-rams, and our men in the fortalice, or castle aforesaid, cut the ropes by which two of these were bound, and cast them down to the ground. Learning this, Duke Godfrey, who was assaulting the city on that side, caused the aforesaid trees to be carried up into the castle, and by laying one end of them upon the machine, and the other end upon the city wall, he made them serve as a bridge. Over the bridge thus formed that illustrious man, Duke Godfrey, together with his brother Eustace, was the first man to enter the city, and after them many others followed and took their stand upon the walls with the standards of the cross flying, and sounding their trumpets to call the hosts to their aid. Seeing this, the enemy abandoned the walls and towers, and all their [b] men-at-arms fled for refuge to the courtyard of the temple which is called Solomon's temple. Our men who stood upon the wall now went down into the nearest street, ran to the northern gate, broke its locks and bars, and let in the multitude who waited without, who presently ran hither and thither throughout the streets with drawn swords, putting to death all whom they met, sparing neither age nor sex. Meanwhile all the fighting power of the enemy was in the temple and its courtyard, prepared to resist our people, who were led in order of battle to the assault of the temple in great force. Five times our men were driven back by the Saracens, but on their joining battle for the fifth (?) time they

broke the right wing of the enemy, and when this gave way our people revelled in slaughter to such a degree that in some parts of the courtyard they rode up to their horses' knees in the blood of the slain. Never was so much human blood seen at one and the same time, for besides those whom our people slew in the houses, lanes, and streets of the city, in the temple and its courtyard alone ten thousand infidels were overthrown and butchered. Among them, pierced by a thousand swords, fell Caliphas the barbarian King of Jerusalem, whom our people found skulking beneath the ruined wall. Thus was the Holy City taken in the year 1099, on the 15th day of June, a Friday, at the ninth hour, three years after the people of Christendom had plucked up courage to make so huge a pilgrimage.

When the city was conquered, the faithful laid aside their arms, and with tears and a humble spirit, taking no account of the blood-stained temple, hastened in procession to the temple which is filled with Christ's blood, the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre, preceded by their bishops and priests in their sacred vestments. When they entered the temple of the Lord's resurrection they all with boundless joy sang Easter hymns, each in their own tongue and to their own music, and most devoutly went in procession to all the holy places in the church. What is wondrous to tell, and holy and pleasant to hear, is that at all these places armed knights and pilgrims were plainly and openly to be seen, men who had long ago met with a previous death from the swords of the infidels. The greater part of the army, when they were mounting the city wall, saw, and affirmed by oath that they saw, these same knights, who had died at Antioch and elsewhere, clad in armour, joyously reaching out their hands to those who were climbing the ladders, and encouraging them to fight ; nor did they reckon

that the living could win this victory had they not had the help and comfort of those who had fallen in former battles. As at the prayer of St. Basil the blessed Virgin raised up from the dead Mercurius, an exceeding brave soldier who had been martyred by Julian the Apostate, that he might slay that same Julian, as in fact he did, even so the bravest of the warriors slain by the Saracens came to life again that they might take the vengeance upon them ; wherefore they were openly seen fighting among fighting men, slaughtering the infidels, making the round of the holy places together with the living, and walking by the side of those who in life had been their comrades. Herein it was clearly proved that these men, albeit they had departed from earthly life, and been called away to eternal happiness, yet they were not disappointed in their desire, but, indeed, obtained to the full the accomplishment of that for which they had so piously longed. Now, when the procession was over, they cleansed the city and the temple, casting out the corpses of the accursed ones beyond the walls, washing away their evil blood, setting up kitchens everywhere throughout the city, and arranging men to serve out provisions. Thus they spent eight days.

There are many histories of this most glorious victory written in heroic style by exceeding learned and eloquent orators, both Italian, Greek, and French, each of whom claims the credit of it for his own nation. Now, forasmuch as no mention is made by them of the Germans, by whose valour, nevertheless, Godfrey did it all, Aeneas Sylvius, the poet-laureate, in the speech which he addressed at Frankfort to the princes of Germany and the nobles of Suabia on the occasion of the Turkish invasion, spoke thus: 'I know,' said he, 'that Godfrey, who was Duke of Lorraine, went through many kingdoms both by sea and by land, and set free the Lord's sepulchre from the Saracen

yoke, having with him only the Germans who dwell beyond the Rhine, the Suabians, some Frenchmen, and a few Italians.'

THE LIST OF THE LATIN KINGS OF JERUSALEM, AND
OF THE PRINCES OF THE CHRISTIAN KINGDOM OF
JERUSALEM.

[274 *a*] Thus the Western Christians in the year of our Lord's incarnation 1099, on the fifteenth day of June, took Jerusalem, the Holy City, snatched it away from the hands and from the power of the Gentiles, and assigned it to its true heirs, the children of the kingdom, those who are born again at the font of baptism, the followers of Christ, from whom it had been estranged in the hands of the Gentiles for about four hundred and sixty or four hundred and ninety years. On the eighth day after the liberation of Jerusalem the victorious princes met together in council to the end that they might choose one of their number to rule over the country and take care, as king, of the newly-won province. After praying for the grace of the Holy Spirit to be with them in their choice, they with one voice and one spirit chose the oft-mentioned Godfrey, Duke of Lorraine, as king. He was borne by the knights on their shoulders into the palace, proclaimed King of Jerusalem, and reigned for one year.

This Godfrey was from the kingdom of France, from the city of Bouillon in the province of Rheims, and was Count of Gallaria (*sic*). His father was the Lord Eustace; his mother, who was named Ida, was the sister of the Duke of Lorraine. As this duke was childless, he adopted this Godfrey, his nephew, as his own son, and when he died Godfrey succeeded him in the duchy of Lorraine. This duke was a most excellent man, being religious, merciful, holy, just, of grave conversation and solid character, despising worldly

vanities, which is a rare thing for a soldier, especially at that time. He was, moreover, fluent in speech, unwearied in works of piety, while also he was of a noble, yet not a haughty, mien, a gracious gentleman to behold. In body he was tall and handsome, exceeding strong, with a beauteous face, yellow hair and beard. In the use of arms, and in military exercises, he was judged by everyone to excel, and his deeds were always wondrous and worthy to be admired. Once, like another Samson or David, he attacked and slew a raging lion, as we are told in the *Fasciculus Temporum*.¹ When he was promoted to the kingdom of Jerusalem, though he did not refuse the title, yet he refused to wear a golden crown, saying that it was not right for a Christian man to wear a royal golden crown in the place where Christ, the King of kings, had worn a crown of thorns for the redemption of the human race; wherefore some whose humility was not so great have not reckoned him in the list of the Latin kings of Jerusalem. To my mind he seems to have been not only a king, but the best of kings—a light and mirror for the rest; for we must not suppose that he refused the offer of consecration as king, but that in his humility he refused the worldly pomp of a perishable crown to the end that he might win an imperishable one in another world. When this devout prince obtained the throne, like a religious man as he was, he straightway began to offer to God first-fruits of his kingdom, for forthwith he established canons regular in the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre, and in the temple of the Lord, and assigned to them ample revenues. Indeed, this man, whom God so loved, had brought with him disciplined monks from their cloisters, who throughout all his journey performed divine service for him both by day

¹ A chronicle compiled by Werner Rolewinck, a Carthusian monk, and first printed at Spire in 1477.

and by night. Likewise he sent to Italy and France for religious clergy, among whom he divided parishes, and for whom he built churches and monasteries.

In those days a piece of the Lord's cross was found in the Church of the Resurrection, which piece had been [ð] hidden by the faithful for fear of the Gentiles. This gave great comfort to all believers, and brought great glory to the church. Up to that time the Church of Jerusalem had remained vacant, but now, with the unanimous approval of all men, they placed in the patriarchal chair the Lord Daybertus, the venerable Archbishop of Pisa, who after the taking of the Holy City had come thither from Italy by sea with many others. After he had settled the affairs of the church, the most pious King Godfrey proceeded to enlarge the borders of the sacred kingdom of Jerusalem, and, taking with him his brethren and the whole host of his warriors, all equipped for battle, he marched out of the Holy City, and went down into Palestine to fight Clement the King of Babylon, who lay in Ascalon with a great host of armed infidels, and treacherously assailed the Christians from thence. King Godfrey assaulted the town, took it, slew Clement with thirty thousand of his men-at-arms, and found there greater store of gold and silver than he had ever found anywhere else. From thence he and his brethren, following up their victory with wondrous good fortune, besieged and took the cities of Joppa and Ramula, and some others of like importance.

When at last he returned to Jerusalem, the King fell sick of a most severe fever, and was laid on a bed of extreme sickness. Feeling that his death was nigh, he, like a true confessor of Christ, partook of the last sacrament, went the way of all flesh, and thus, though his life was soon ended, yet achieved the labours of many ages in a short time. His brethren buried him in the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre, at the foot of the rock of Calvary, amid the mourning and regret of all Christian people. Certain texts in Revelation (ch. xvii. and xviii.) are literally understood of, and explained to refer to this Godfrey, according to Nicholas de Lyra, and to the Chronicle of Antoninus, Part I., tit. vi., ch. i., §§ 14, 15. Many miracles are attributed to him, which I omit.

THE SECOND KING.

On the death of Godfrey, the first King of Jerusalem, in the year of our Lord 1100, the Lord Baldwin, his brother, succeeded to the throne. He was Count of Edessa, a strong man, and one who had a sufficient tincture of liberal learning. He had an aquiline nose, a grave demeanour, and serious conversation, and ever wore a mantle on his shoulders, so that to strangers he seemed more like a bishop than a secular prince. Many princes came to Jerusalem to attend his coronation, but he led them out of Jerusalem to Bethlehem, where he received the crown with great joy at the place of the Lord's nativity.

It would take long to tell of the splendour of this King, of his courage and strength, and of his many battles and victories over the infidels. He overthrew the Turks many times; he crushed the Saracens, and thrice humbled the Egyptians, slaying their king the Caliph on board of a galley. In his time there was a great earthquake, which threatened the whole of the Holy City with ruin, yet by its result it proved no ill omen, for after the earthquake he took many cities of the heathen, slew many thousands, and greatly increased the kingdom of Jerusalem. He conquered the most puissant city of Ptolemais, and likewise built an exceeding strong fortress in Petra in the wilderness beyond Jordan, which fortress he called the King's

Mount (Monreal). Of this place I have told you on page 244 *a*.

In his time a pestilence fell upon Syria, and almost all the Latin people perished. The King, seeing that the holy city of Jerusalem was left with none to dwell therein, so that there were not even sufficient people in the city to defend it against the enemy, anxiously wondered how he might fill it with Christians. At length he learned that beyond Jordan and in Arabia there were many of the faithful dwelling in villages, serving the infidels and enemies of their faith under hard conditions, and paying them tribute. These the King summoned with their wives and children, and all their household, quartered them in Jerusalem, and so took away their heavy yoke from them. Moreover, he bought children from the infidels, caused them to be baptized, and appointed them to dwell in Jerusalem.

In the year of our Lord 1118, this virtuous King, in order to revenge upon the Egyptians the deeds which they had often committed in his kingdom, went down into Egypt with great forces, furiously assaulted an exceeding ancient city named Faranna, took it, and gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers. The city stands on the sea-shore not far from the mouth of the Nile, and was in ancient times called Tamnis. While the King lay in this city making ready to push on into the inner parts of Egypt, he fell grievously sick, so that he bade his host retreat, and was borne in a litter until he was overcome by his disease, and passed away to the Lord. His body was then carried back to Jerusalem, and on Palm Sunday he was buried with royal magnificence beneath the place Calvary, near his brother Godfrey. He reigned in Jerusalem for eighteen years, and left no heir behind him.

THE THIRD KING OF JERUSALEM.

After the death of Baldwin, the first of that name, and second King of Jerusalem, there succeeded to the throne Baldwin II., who was the third of our Latin kings of Jerusalem, in A.D. 1118. He reigned eighteen years, and was a cousin of the two preceding kings, being named Baldwin de Burgh, a Frenchman by nation, of the province of Rheims, the son of Hugo, Count of Rethel. He was handsome to behold, tall, and of a beauteous face, with thin and straight hair mixed with gray, and a thin beard which reached to his breast. He was practised in the use of arms, and of great experience in war; moreover, he was merciful, religious, and God-fearing, and so intent in prayer that he had hard skin on his hands and knees from frequent kneeling and prostration. Yet, despite these and other good qualities, his election to the kingdom greatly displeased many princes; wherefore they sent a solemn embassy to invite Eustace, Count of Bouillon, the brother of the dead King Baldwin I., to come to the kingdom, which was his by hereditary right. Notwithstanding his reluctance and ill-will, they brought Eustace as far as Apulia, where, hearing that in the meantime Baldwin de Burgh had been appointed King at Jerusalem, he made ready to return home, and when they declared that this thing had been done against the law, and could in nowise stand, he is said to have answered: 'Far be it from me that on my account scandal should be brought into the kingdom of the Lord, through whose blood the world obtained peace, and for the quiet whereof those great men, my brethren of immortal memory, sent their glorious souls to heaven.' So he packed his baggage, and went home again; while King Baldwin, being confirmed in his kingdom, in the second year of his reign, [b] overcame

Gazm, the leader of the Turks in Asia Minor, who had marched at the head of great forces to attack Jerusalem, and cast him into prison. In the next year he routed and put to flight the King of Damascus, who of a sudden marched his army against Jerusalem with hostile intent. He slew two thousand of the enemy, and took one thousand prisoners, losing only thirty of his own people.

But in the fifth year of his reign the King marched against Balach, King of the Parthians, who was troubling the county of Edessa ; and one day, when he came out of the city of Turbessel, and was carelessly going on his way with his household in a straggling line of march, the afore-said Balach followed him, laid an ambush for him, took the King of Jerusalem prisoner together with his nobles, and brought them to a castle beyond the Euphrates, where he put them in chains, and kept them for two years. Meanwhile the King of Egypt, when he heard of the captivity of the King of Jerusalem, came up by the seaside road with a countless host of his people to Ascalon, meaning them to go up to Jerusalem. Now, when the Lord Eustace Grimer, to whom the management of the kingdom had been entrusted in the King's absence, heard this, he and the chief men of the kingdom mustered all the forces thereof, and made ready to sally forth, few against many, with no hope save in God. Like they of Nineveh, they proclaimed a fast for men and women alike—nay, food was denied even to the sucking babe, and to the beasts and cattle. When the army of the Lord went forth from the Holy City, the Patriarch of Jerusalem marched at the head of the column, carrying, instead of a standard, the Lord's cross, while he who once had been Abbot of Cluny bore the Lord's lance, which had lately been found, as may be seen on page 271 *a*, and the Bishop of Bethlehem bore the blessed Virgin's milk in a pyx. Thus armed with faith,

they went to attack their foes, and, finding them at the place which is called Ybellin, without regarding their vast numbers, they boldly charged them, and smiting them with their swords, by the help of God, they put them to flight. Following after them, our people wrought a dreadful slaughter among them, so much so that besides prisoners, who were countless, seven thousand of them are said to have been slain on that day. Furthermore, our people made another great slaughter of the infidels at sea, for they followed after the fleet of the infidels, which had fled on hearing of their defeat, found it, and slew so many in the battle which followed as to be beyond belief; for the sea is said to have turned red for two miles round about by reason of the many corpses cast into it.

After this, while the King was still a captive, our people took the impregnable city of Tyre, with an exceeding great slaughter of Saracens therein. Tyre is an exceeding ancient city, to which the Roman Emperor Severus, as a reward for its notable fidelity to the Roman state, granted the *jus Italicum*, a privilege which the Roman princes were wont to bestow only on a very few cities of exceeding great deserts.

Not only Gentile writers, but also the oracles of the holy prophets, bear witness to the greatness of this city's glory in the most ancient times, as may be read in Isa. xxiii. and Ezek. xxvi. and xxvii.

To this city belonged Sychaeus and his wife Dido, who built the admirable city of Carthage. Here reigned Hiram, who was Solomon's fellow-worker in building the temple. Now, when Tyre was taken, the King of Jerusalem was ransomed and returned to Jerusalem. He restored the tottering state of the Christians, added [276 a] Antioch to the kingdom of Jerusalem, overthrew the King of Ascalon, who was troubling the people of Jerusalem, in one battle,

and routed Baldwin, the Prince of Damascus, who was preparing to do likewise, in three battles, where many of the foe were slaughtered like sheep. Henceforth God granted this King a quiet reign, and no man dared to withstand him ; wherefore, while dwelling in peace, he betook himself to the advancement of divine service, brought over many monks and clergy from Christendom, built many monasteries both for men and for women, and established at Tyre a university or general school, to which many scholars came from beyond the sea. In his reign three religious Orders were founded in Jerusalem. The first was that of the Hospitallers ; albeit, before the recovery of the Holy Land there had been Hospitallers in Jerusalem, though there was no Order. We likewise read, as I have before said, on page 268, that before Godfrey's time, by consent of the Soldan, the Latin Christians had built a monastery for men near the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre, for the use of pilgrims, wherein male pilgrims were lodged as guests ; and afterwards, owing to the numbers of women pilgrims who came thither, another monastery was built, wherein women pilgrims were lodged. But afterwards, since multitudes flocked thither, the aforesaid monasteries were not able to contain such great numbers, wherefore the abbot and monks built a hospital near the chapel, dedicated to St. John the Almoner, who was Patriarch of Alexandria, and the pilgrims were lodged in this hospital, receiving all needful provisions from both of these monasteries at the hands of the monks and nuns thereof, whom I conceive to have been of the Order of St. Benedict, because there were Latins in both monasteries, and as yet the Order of the Hospitallers was not founded. But as time went on, after the Holy Land had been recovered, and Baldwin, the third Latin king, had given peace to the land, pilgrims flocked to Jerusalem in great numbers, whereof the abbot

of the monastery appointed a certain nobleman named Gerard, who of his own accord volunteered to do this service, to wait on the men pilgrims; while the abbess appointed a noble Roman lady to serve the women pilgrims. These two devout persons vowed obedience to the aforesaid abbot, according to the rule under which they lived, a rule suitable for people dwelling in a hospital, which had been drawn up for them by the abbot with the consent of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. The dress which they wore at divine service was a black mantle with a white cross; and their numbers increased so much that great monasteries of them were founded throughout the world, because they were exceeding religious men, and would not suffer any evil to be done. They now began to be known by a double name: some called them Hospitallers, because they bore rule over the hospital; while others called them Knights of St. John, after St. John the Almoner, to whom the hospital at Jerusalem was dedicated; and this name they keep unto this day, though, to do themselves greater honour, they have taken St. John the Baptist for their patron, since they have won the Isle of Rhodes, even as they began to profess the rule of St. Austin after they were driven out of Jerusalem; for while they dwelt in Jerusalem they had not John the Baptist for their patron, neither did they know aught of the rule of St. Austin, but they lived under the orders of the abbot and the patriarch. Thus the Order of the Knights of St. John began in A.D. 1118 in Jerusalem, in the reign of Pope Gelasius; but the Order was put on a regular footing A.D. 1308, in the reign of Clement V., in the Island of Rhodes.

There were also other men in later times than these, who were called Hospitallers, but these men are not so called from the hospital at Jerusalem, but they get their

name and order from other great hospitals which they serve, and they live under divers rules.

[b] The second Order which had its beginning in Jerusalem in the reign of this King Baldwin grew out of the first Order; for after the hospital had been founded and abundantly endowed, while pilgrims in exceeding great numbers were flocking thither daily from all parts of the world, certain robbers began to lie in ambush along the roadside, and plundered the pilgrims, whom they sometimes slew, and wrought great havoc among them. Seeing this, certain zealous knights vowed to the Patriarch of Jerusalem that they would defend the highway, and, moreover, professed that they would live in chastity, obedience and poverty. At the outset there were only ten of them, and the King lodged them in his palace near the temple. Nine years after the founding of the Order they still wore a secular habit, till at length in the ninth council, which was held at Troyes in France A.D. 1128, a rule was appointed for them, and a white habit with a red cross was assigned to them by Pope Honorius. Since they dwelt near the temple, they were called Templars, or Knights of the Temple, and for them St. Benedict composed a rule, and often wrote letters to them. Albeit their beginning was holy and full of virtue, yet afterwards they degenerated from their forerunners after they waxed fat, and were spread abroad throughout the earth. Wherefore in the reign of Clement V., forasmuch as it became known to our people that they had gone over to the Saracens, and had fallen into many vices because of their great wealth, all of them who could be taken by Christians were slain, and not only in Asia, but also in France, they were destroyed by Philip, King of France, with the consent of the sovereign pontiff of Rome, since they were leading exceeding disgraceful lives. Their excessive wealth

was bestowed partly upon the Knights of St. John, and partly upon new religious orders, while some of it was seized by secular princes. It is well known that at this day the Dominican friars hold many notable convents of the Templars, as, for instance, the convents at Vienna, Strasburg, Essling, Worms, and elsewhere. Some, however, plead the cause of the Templars, and declare that the King was eager for their destruction that he might obtain their property, as we read in the Chronicle of Antoninus, Part III., tit. xxi., ch. i., § 3.

The third Order was founded in Jerusalem not long after the other two, and is called the Order of the Teutonic Knights of St. Mary. It is said to have arisen as follows: Forasmuch as the Germans surpass all other Christian nations in devotion to the holy places,¹ and used to come to Jerusalem in great numbers every day, the Hospitallers, who were Frenchmen, became weary of them, and provided but ill for the Germans. Now, a certain German and his wife had removed his home to Jerusalem, and dwelt there. Seeing the want and misery of the men-at-arms his countrymen, with the leave and consent of the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, he turned his own great house, together with a chapel of the blessed Virgin, into a small hospital. In this place certain men took vows that they would serve the poor and minister to pilgrims, and in time their numbers grew so much that they became exceeding rich, wherefore Pope Celestine III. appointed a rule for them, and a white dress with a black cross. They stand, as it were, midway between the two former Orders, for they used to serve pilgrims and the poor with the Hospitallers or Knights of St. John, while they fought against the Saracens and infidels with the Templars. After the loss of the Holy Land, at the command of the

¹ See John of Würzburg, ch. xiii.

Pope, they came into European Scythia, where they have converted the Ruthenians, a race which had hitherto been given up to idolatry, and with great toil have converted Prussia, Livonia, and other lands bordering on the German Ocean.

Now, after these Orders had been founded, and [277 *a*] many other labours accomplished, the pious King Baldwin of Jerusalem fell grievously sick, and, seeing that his death was nigh, he came forth from his palace in the guise of a suppliant, humbly laid aside his royal robes in the sight of God, and ordered himself to be carried into the patriarch's palace, because that place was nearer to the place of the Lord's resurrection. Here he called for his daughter and her husband, his son-in-law, and their son Baldwin, who was now two years old, and in the presence of the assembled princes of his kingdom gave over the care of the kingdom to them, while he himself, like a true confessor, assumed the religious habit, vowed to live as a regular monk if he should live, and rendered up his spirit to Him who is the Father of all spirits, in the thirteenth year of his reign. He was buried at the foot of Mount Calvary.

THE FOURTH KING OF JERUSALEM.

The fourth King of Jerusalem, Fulke by name, was the son-in-law of the aforesaid Baldwin, and was Count of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine. He obtained the throne in A.D. 1131, in the sixtieth year of his age, and reigned for eleven years in Jerusalem. He and his two sons waged many wars, not only with the infidels, but with the Emperor of Constantinople, and other Christian princes, who plotted against his kingdom. In his time the Egyptians, under various leaders, vexed the Christians who held Jerusalem, and in many places broke through

their cities ; wherefore war broke out afresh, wherein our people took some cities, made some others pay them tribute, and so forth. This King, among other glorious deeds, often routed the Turks who dwelt in the land of Persia, and not only routed them, but in one onslaught slew as many as three thousand, took as many prisoners, and greatly enlarged the kingdom.

In his time the Turks invaded the county of Edessa, which the Christians had won by most laborious warfare, and essayed to drive out the Christians from thence. The Count of Edessa, who was feeble and well stricken in years, commanded his son to take a force of soldiers with him and make a manful attack upon the enemy, but the son cowardly began to make excuse, declaring that it would be dangerous to attack so great a multitude with so few men. His father, enraged with him, ordered a horse-litter—such as in German is called a *Rossbar*—to be made ready for himself, and, mounting it, set forth with what troops he could collect to drive the Turks out of his country. When the Turks learned that he was coming, they were alarmed at his spirit, and fled away to their own land. In the same hour, at the place from whence he had driven the enemy, the count bade them lay his litter on the ground. Raising his eyes to heaven, he gave thanks with groans and sighs, for that in these his last days the Lord had shown him such grace that, when standing at the very gates of death, he should still be a terror to the enemies of the Christian faith. When he had said these words in the open field, in the midst of his men-at-arms, he gave up the ghost. In the year 1142 a great misfortune befell all Christendom. When the Lord Fulke, King of Jerusalem, was tarrying at the city of Ptolemais, or Acre, and had gone forth from the city for pastime, it chanced that a hare was put up by his dogs and ran. All the company rode after it with a

shout ; and the King, who was on horseback, followed after it with heedless haste. His horse stumbled and rolled upon the ground, throwing down the King in such sort that his head was altogether crushed by the saddle, and his brains oozed out through his nose and ears. Amid general sorrow he was carried back into the city, where he lay for three days senseless, but still alive and breathing, and gave up the ghost on the fourth day. They brought his dead body to Jerusalem, and buried it in the place Calvary, where the former Latin kings were buried, where their monuments may be seen even at this day, shining with polished marble.

THE FIFTH KING OF JERUSALEM.

[*b*] On the death of Fulke, the fourth King of Jerusalem, he was succeeded in the kingdom by his son, Baldwin III., the fifth King of the dynasty, who was a youth of noble character, free from all the vices of youth, and who governed the holy state exceeding well. When he was grown up he was a tall man, and so eminently handsome that even strangers were impressed by the dignity of his manner, which gave certain proof of his character and royal majesty. He was affable and very tender-hearted, not at all covetous of other men's goods, neither did he, like a prodigal, go about to rob his subjects of their wealth. He was fairly well read, and loved to read the histories of the kings and battles of old, and dealt exceedingly warily with the uncertain risks of war. He began to reign A.D. 1142, and he reigned in Jerusalem for twenty-four years.

In this King's reign the Turks, Egyptians, Saracens, and Arabs rose up against the faithful, and among them Saginus, a man of sin, who was the mightiest of the Turks, besieged and took Edessa, formerly called Rages Medorum, which was full of Latin people, all of whom he put to death

with singular cruelty. King Baldwin gathered an army and hurried to save Edessa, but was repulsed, and made his way back to Jerusalem with the loss of many of his people. This was made known to Eugenius III., Pope of Rome, who sent out clergy to divers parts of the West to set forth the hard-pressed state of the Eastern Christians, among whom that man of immortal memory, the Abbot St. Bernard, was chosen to carry out these designs. He preached with such burning zeal that both the nobles and the people gave a willing assent to his unselfish eloquence, and promised that they would journey to Jerusalem. Moreover, those illustrious men, the Suabian Conrad III., Emperor of the Romans (*sic*), and the Lord Louis, King of the French, started on their eastward journey with many of the princes of both nations. Their armies were exceeding great. In that of the Emperor alone there were seventy thousand mailed horsemen, not counting foot-soldiers, and the followers of the King of France were no fewer in number. Had the grace of the Lord favoured them, they would easily have overcome not only the very puissant Soldan of Iconium and Asia Minor, but would have won over all the provinces of the East to Christendom; howbeit, by some Divine judgment beyond man's understanding, God refused to accept their service, neither would He accept a gift which, it may be, was offered by unworthy hands. Wherefore the Lord gave them over into the hands of the infidel Turks and Saracens, so that they were harassed, overcome, and diminished in number by them on their way, and reached Jerusalem after much tribulation. Now, these three great potentates, Conrad, Emperor of the Romans, Louis, King of the French, and Baldwin III., King of Jerusalem, met together in one place with all their princes, counts, and barons, began to debate what would be best and most expedient for them to do for the glory of

the Christian name and the advancement of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Neither did this council enjoy the Divine favour, wherefore they retreated with great disgrace from the city of Damascus, which they essayed to take, and after coming back to Jerusalem, deliberated whether they should besiege Ascalon; but after much speaking that plan also came to nought. Hereupon the Emperor and the King of France, seeing clearly that God was not with them, took ship and went to their own countries. From that day forth the state of the Latins in the East became daily worse, for the infidels had now without loss affronted these great princes, whose mere names had formerly struck terror into them, wherefore they were now so elate and confident that henceforth they never doubted their own strength, or feared to press hardly upon our people.

After the retreat of the hosts of the Western Christians, the Lord helped Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, so that he took by storm the city of Ascalon, which had long been beleaguered by the Christians, and he rebuilt Gaza, an exceeding ancient city which was then quite deserted, and gave it to the brethren of the temple to dwell in. He was so great and so brave that he routed and put to flight the host of the Turkish chiefs, with great slaughter, five thousand of them being put to death. After this he overthrew Noradinus, the leader of the soldiery of Damascus, in a bloody battle, and followed him as far as the neighbourhood of Damascus. He likewise waged many other terrible wars, and sometimes scarce escaped being taken prisoner.

In his days there arose a quarrel and dangerous discord between the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem and Raymond, the master of the Hospital of St. John, who together with his brethren began to cause much trouble to the lord patriarch and the other prelates of the divers Churches in respect of the extent of the patriarchal power; for they

used to admit freely to the celebration of Mass men who for their sins had been excommunicated and cut off from the Church by the lord patriarch, or by the bishops and prelates of the divers Churches, they administered the sacrament and extreme unction to the sick, gave burial to the excommunicate dead, and did many other things contravening the privileges of the Church. When the lord patriarch made many complaints about these presumptuous doings and claimed his own citizens, as he was bound to do, they became so insolent as to take up arms and to rush into the Church of the Holy Sepulchre to attack the patriarch. This was the beginning of all evils, and of the subsequent loss of the Holy City and Land. The Church of Rome furnished the cause for this evil, in that it ever held the Hospital exempt from the power of the patriarch, as also it exempted the Templars from his jurisdiction, and bestowed privileges on the Teutonic Knights. But when these Orders were exempted and privileged the jurisdiction of the patriarch and the bishops was very small, and almost nothing, and so the kingdom was divided and consequently ruined, according to that which is written in Luke xi. 17 : ‘ Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation.’

Now, Lord Baldwin, the King, went down from Jerusalem to Antioch, as some grave matters required him so to do. While he was at Antioch he fell grievously sick, and feeling that he was at the point of death and in great danger, caused himself to be taken to Beyrout. There he bade all the prelates and princes of his kingdom be summoned into his presence, where he piously and religiously made profession of his faith, confessed his sins with much contrition to the high priests, was released from his sufferings and from the prison-house of the flesh, and bore his soul to heaven in the year of our Lord 1166, on the 21st day of

February. His body was carried to Jerusalem and buried among those of his predecessors in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. It is said, however, that poison was given him in medicine, and that the remains of what had been given the King to drink was poured upon some bread and given to a dog to eat, which dog straightway died. History nowhere records such great grief in any state on the death of its king. It is even said that the enemies of the faith grieved at his death, insomuch as that when some proposed to Noradinus, the King of Damascus, that, seeing that the leaders of the Christians were full of trouble, they should invade our kingdom, he is said to have answered: 'We ought to show them compassion and deal kindly with them while they are rightly mourning for the loss of a prince whose like doth not now remain in all the world.'

THE SIXTH KING OF JERUSALEM.

On the death of King Baldwin of Jerusalem he was succeeded in the Holy City by the sixth King of the Latins, Amalric, the brother of the deceased King, in A.D. 1163, who reigned in Jerusalem for twelve years. This Amalric was a man full of worldly wisdom, very wise and circumspect in business, not greatly learned, but endowed with a lively genius and a strong memory. It cannot be denied that he was likewise greedy for money, beyond what became his royal dignity, yet in matters essential to the well-being of his kingdom he spared no expense and no labour of his own person. He was puissant in war, for, indeed, in the year before he began to reign he, by the aid of God, overthrew Gorgont, the leader of the Egyptians, in battle, with great slaughter, and after overthrowing him laid siege to Alexandria, a place which Syracanus, a Turkish chief, had unlawfully usurped from the Soldan. The people of Alexandria, who were in nowise willing to be

subject to the Christians, yielded themselves up to Amalric upon the condition that he should drive out their tyrant, and that then they should be restored to the kingdom of the Soldan by his hands. Wherefore Amalric received from the aforesaid Soldan forty thousand pieces of gold, drove Syracan out of Egypt, and restored Alexandria to the Soldan. There was now a treaty of peace made between the King of Egypt and the King of Jerusalem, and had this treaty been kept, no one would ever have troubled the kingdom of Jerusalem. But that old serpent who soweth discord between brethren set Amalric and the Soldan at variance. King Amalric perceived that the Soldan had a secret pact with Syracan the Turkish tyrant, whom he had lately driven out of Egypt; wherefore he gathered together an army, went down through the desert to Egypt, took divers Egyptian towns, and laid siege to Cairo, the royal city, which was exceeding powerful. Howbeit, as the King was ever eager for money, the Soldan turned him from his purpose by giving him a countless sum—for some say that he promised him two millions of pieces of gold, a sum which the whole kingdom of Egypt could scarce pay, and gave him a hundred thousand gold pieces in hand, on condition that he drew off his forces. When he had got this money he raised the siege of Cairo, pitched his camp near the garden of balsam, and after reviewing his troops marched home again, having now both the King of Egypt and the King of Damascus for enemies.

After this the Greek Emperor at Constantinople meditated adding Egypt to his empire. He sent a great fleet to Syria, wherein there were a hundred and fifty beaked ships and sixty-two transports, and called upon the Lord Amalric, King of Jerusalem, to help him. So they went down into Egypt both by sea and by land, and besieged

Damietta, but could effect nothing, and so had to return home again with no small loss.

Moreover, there arose a new King in Egypt—a most fortunate man—named Saladin, who will frequently be named hereafter, who put the whole race of the Caliph and kings to the sword, was master of all the realms of Egypt and of Syria, and never rested all the days of his life until he spread his empire over almost all the East. Indeed, he was a man of quick parts, brave in fight, deep in counsel, exceeding generous, especially to men-at-arms, to whom he would give all that he had. Besides this, he was merciful to the conquered, he abode truly by his word, and was in all ways a man of exceeding great renown. Nothing was wanting to his praise save the name of Christian, but since he was not distinguished thereby, he set himself up against Christ and Christ's people, and became the scourge of the Christians in the East; moreover, [279 *a*] he utterly overthrew the Christians, drove out the Latins, conquered the Holy Land, took Jerusalem, made the Lord's sepulchre subject to him, took away the pride of the Eastern Church, and made the crown and glory of the faithful people of Christ into their shame, as what follows will show.

We read this notable story of Saladin in a certain chronicle. When he was about to die, he appointed the following pageant to be borne before his body in his funeral procession, to wit, a common black cloth hung upon a lance, before which should walk a herald, crying out: 'Saladin, the conqueror of Asia, when he dies carries away with him nought save this black rag out of all his kingdom and all his wealth.'

Now Amalric, King of Jerusalem, seeing that Saladin, King of Egypt and Syria, was wise and cautious, and had a mind to win other kingdoms also, sent out ambassadors

to the princes of the West to tell them all of the unbearable straits into which the kingdom of Jerusalem had fallen, the troubles of the Christians therein, and the imminent ruin with which they were threatened. These ambassadors made a prosperous journey to the countries of the West, and there set forth the dangers which menaced the kingdom of Jerusalem; but they gained nothing, and were not listened to either by the princes or the prelates of the Church.

Meanwhile, Saladin made daily inroads into the kingdom of Jerusalem, and the kingdom was ceaselessly troubled by the threatenings of the enemy, and straitened by grievous troubles; wherefore, in A.D. 1171, King Amalric, being sore afraid, sent other solemn ambassadors to the West, and he himself in his own proper person sailed with a fleet of ten galleys to Constantinople, where he waited on the Emperor, explained to him the needs of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and after having finished his business returned to Jerusalem. At length Amalric, King of Jerusalem, after lying sick of a fever for several months, died in the year 1175 since our Lord's incarnation, in the twelfth year of his reign and the thirty-third of his age. He was buried among his predecessors, next to his brother, in the same line before Calvary.

THE SEVENTH KING OF JERUSALEM.

On the death of Amalric, the sixth King of Jerusalem, he was succeeded by Baldwin IV., his son. He was thirteen years old at the time of his father's death, and he reigned in Jerusalem for six years. During his father's lifetime, when he was nine years old, he was perceived to have contracted the disease of elephantiasis. Some writers say that even from his childhood he was tainted with leprosy, but, notwithstanding the infirmities from which

he suffered, he yet governed his kingdom most bravely and most wisely, for he overthrew that exceeding valiant and active man Saladin in two battles—one at Ascalon, and the other at Tiberias, about which battles history has much to say.

Now, in the year 1178 Saladin and his army again invaded the kingdom of Jerusalem. When the king learned this, he called his men together, and set out to fight the enemies of the faith. In the battle many of our people fell by the sword, the Lord Addo,¹ Grand Master of the Temple, was taken, and died in prison, many others also were taken, and the King himself scarce escaped. Elated by this victory, Saladin that year did infinite damage to the kingdom of Jerusalem; but at length, at the intercession of certain persons, a two years' truce was made between the Christians and Saladin. King Baldwin, as his disease became sorer, would not marry, and so had no sons or daughters, but he had two sisters, the elder of whom was named Sibylla. He silently intended her to inherit the kingdom, and gave her in marriage to William, surnamed 'Longsword,' the son of the Marquis of Montferrat. This William, at the bidding of King Baldwin, fought much and bravely against the infidels, and was a man of exceeding noble birth, insomuch that he had no peer in nobility; for his own sister was the mother of Philip, King of France, and his mother was the sister of his Lordship Conrad the Emperor; but three months after the consummation of his marriage the aforesaid William died, leaving his wife pregnant. In due time she bore a son, whom she named Baldwin. Next, the king gave this his aforesaid sister Sibylla in marriage to a noble youth, Guy de Lusignan, consulting the interest of his little nephew, whom he entrusted to Guy himself, and to

¹ Otto.

Raymond, Count of Tripoli, as their ward, on condition that, while the young Baldwin was in their guardianship, they both should govern the kingdom, and that they should hand it over to his nephew when he was of age. But to the end that nothing should stand in the way of this being done, he caused the boy to be anointed King over the kingdom of Jerusalem in the presence of all the knights of the kingdom. This was the ninth (*sic*) King of Jerusalem, anointed before the death of the eighth (*sic*) King, his uncle. Before many days had passed, this boy Baldwin, the ninth (*sic*) King of Jerusalem, died. His death was purposely concealed by his mother for many days, because it seemed to her that the old leprous King Baldwin was nigh unto death, and that, when both he and the boy were dead, her husband Guy would succeed them on the throne, as indeed it fell out; for not long afterwards Baldwin, the eighth (seventh) (*sic*) King of Jerusalem, died, and was buried in the royal sepulchres in the place Calvary. His nephew, the boy Baldwin, the ninth (*sic*) King, was buried in the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre, but without the chapel at Calvary, wherein the other kings used to be buried, because he was not thought to have been King, being only a child.

THE EIGHTH KING OF JERUSALEM.

When Baldwin IV., the seventh King of Jerusalem, and Baldwin V., his nephew, King of the Holy City, were both dead, they were succeeded by Guy de Lusignan, who was the husband of Sibylla, the sister of Baldwin the leper, and brother by marriage to Baldwin IV., and he reigned two years in Jerusalem. This man came with difficulty to the throne, reigned always in great straits, finished his reign with terrible disaster, and brought the kingdom of Jerusalem to a lamentable end. When the two aforesaid Kings Baldwin were dead, the Count of Tripoli, guardian of the

deceased boy Baldwin, aspired to the throne, and many princes and counts took his side, and plotted against the Lord Guy, Sibylla's husband, who was the heir to the kingdom. The Lady Sibylla by great bribes and many entreaties prevailed upon the Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Grand Master of the Temple, and the nobles, to have her husband Guy anointed and crowned King of Jerusalem; but Raymond, Lord of Tripoli, was offended at this, and so between these two, Guy and Raymond, there arose exceeding bitter quarrels, wherein Raymond, who was secretly the friend of Saladin the Turk, and was leagued with him, did very great hurt to Guy and the other Christians. In truth, jealousy led Raymond to such a pitch of wickedness that he renounced the Christian faith, received circumcision, and professed the Mahometan religion, yet not openly, but in secret.

In A.D. 1187 Saladin, having gathered strength through the discord among our people, got together a countless multitude of troops, attacked the holy kingdom, and won much territory from the Christians. As King Guy was now straitened by the infidels on every side, by the advice of his nobles he sent the Lord Patriarch of Jerusalem, the Grand Master of the Temple and the Prior of the Hospital to the Western princes, to set forth to them the calamitous condition of the Christian people in the East. First of all they came to Philip, King of France, to whom they offered the keys of the Lord's sepulchre, of the temple, and of the Holy City, [280 *a*] beseeching him that he would deign to succour the Holy Land, now about to be lost. Hereupon this most pious King called together all the prelates, held a council at Paris, and sent some exceeding valiant soldiers to the Holy Land at his own expense. Meanwhile Saladin, having gathered a countless multitude of Turks and Saracens from all parts of the East, invaded the land of the

Christians, held the province of Galilee, and besieged Tiberias. King Guy of Jerusalem got together a great army and marched to fight him, but, alas ! our people were overthrown through the treachery of that most wicked man, the Count of Tripoli ; for just as the armies were about to engage, the count, with his banner erect, fled from the line of battle, and threw our army into confusion. He was followed by certain enemies of the King of Jerusalem and conspirators, and so before the army fled, and while it was fleeing, a terrible slaughter was made among our people. In this extremity the Bishop of Acre, who bore the Lord's cross before the army, was grievously wounded, and feeling himself to be at the point of death, as he could not sit upright upon his horse, gave the cross to another, who bore it to King Guy. At last, after the King had fought bravely to the end of the battle with his cross, as the enemy assailed him on all sides, his people were for the most part slain, and he himself was set about with foes so that he could not flee, he was taken prisoner, together with the life-giving wood of the cross. There was no battle in all the time of the Latin kingdom in the least wherein so much Christian blood was shed as on that day. On that day fell the strength of all Christendom in the East. Most notable was the valour of the Hospitallers and Templars. In this most sorrowful battle all the nobles and men of war perished, save only a few who were taken prisoners, along with the King and the Master of the Temple. Vincentius in his *Speculum Historiale*, Book XXX, ch. xliii., says that children born since that day, when the holy cross was led away captive, have only twenty or twenty-one teeth, whereas they used to have thirty or thirty-three. After his victory, Saladin, following up his good fortune, led his army to take the cities and castles of the Christians by storm, and occupied the places

on the sea-coast. First of all he forced Ptolemais, then Beyrouth and all the other fenced cities, to surrender, without bearing hard upon any one of them, provided that it was willing to remain under his sway and pay him tribute. There was no city from Acon even to Ascalon which dared to resist him, for they all had lost those who should have defended them. But they of Ascalon, forasmuch as they believed their city to be impregnable, checked the career of Saladin for a while, and would not deliver up the city to him, declaring that they would on no account surrender before they knew for certain whether the people of Jerusalem had likewise given up their city. When Saladin heard this, he raised a bank against the city, and continually assaulted it for ten days, but could do nothing against it, for Ascalon was an exceeding strong city, which was taken by Godfrey, the first King of Jerusalem, as is told on page 274 *a*. It is spoken of in the most ancient books of Holy Scripture, as anyone may see.

HOW JERUSALEM WAS TAKEN BY THE INFIDELS, AND
HOW IT DESERVED TO BE SO TAKEN.

When Saladin saw that he could not take Ascalon without having taken the holy city Jerusalem, he raised the siege of Ascalon, and marched up into the hill-country of Judaea with all his warlike engines and an exceeding great multitude of men, intending to beleaguer and take Jerusalem, which stands therein. Meanwhile, the citizens of Jerusalem, and all those who had fled thither from the neighbourhood on every side through fear of the enemy, when they had heard the tidings of the slaughter of their army, the loss of the life-giving cross, the captivity of the King, and the approach of Saladin, now humbled themselves in every kind of prayer and supplication. All the Christians who dwelt therein [*b*] held solemn litanies, con-

fessions, and fasts, and even childhood took part in these spiritual exercises. But the wrath of God burned openly and fiercely, and no wonder, for both clergy and people had indulged overmuch in luxurious living of all sorts, and all the land was foul with vices and wickedness, while even those who bore the religious habit had scandalously overstepped the bounds of temperance imposed on them by their rule, and there were few of them who were not tainted by the disease of either avarice or luxury. Among those who ministered at the altar there was much contention and disputing about sacred things, and quarrels arising from ambition, for the Knights Templars and the Hospitallers withstood the patriarch and the bishops, and were ever seeking for privileges for themselves, and putting their sickle into other men's harvest, albeit when their Orders were first set up they had gloried in their obedience. They counted it as nought to commit the offence of simony, whereby they daily filled the Lord's sepulchre and the place of His resurrection with most unworthy persons. For this cause the gift of that most welcome heavenly fire which was bestowed upon them by the divine clemency on Easter Even in the beginning in the times of Godfrey, Baldwin I. and Baldwin II., now was slow to come and light the lamps in the time of these last kings. About this fire, see above. And if the clergy was tainted with these wickednesses, how could the spirit be holy?

Jerusalem had become even as Egypt and Sodom, and defiled with the like wickedness, for the whole city was full of private inns, which were kept by men from every nation under heaven. These men, who had either been banished from their own country because of the crimes which they had committed, or who could not show their faces in their own land because of women whom they had carried off or debts which they could not pay, lived as

exiles in Jerusalem, and kept inns, caring for nought but gain. Some of them could not dwell in their native land because they had been excommunicated, and therefore lived at Jerusalem, and some had transported their whole household from the West to the East out of desire for gain. There were many Knights of the Holy Sepulchre and of the temple, and out of this great number there were few who were not wicked men, impious, robbers, sacrilegious, homicides, liars, adulterers, as Bernard tells us in his 'Sermon to the Knights of the Temple,' ch. v. Thus the Holy City was become a place of refuge for illdoers, and was full of infamous inns, wherein pilgrims betook themselves to wantonness, drinking, and gaming after they had visited the holy places.

This evil had grown to such a height that scarce anyone remained in the hospital of St. John, because pilgrims received hardly any entertainment at the hands of the Hospitallers; albeit, the hospital was exceeding rich. Neither was there any love for St. Mary shown in the hospital of the Teutonic knights, wherefore good and respectable pilgrims were forced to go to inns whose landlords were thieves, robbers, cunning cheats, banished men, and furtherers of wickedness and vice.

In addition to this, the peace of the Holy City was disturbed by the avarice of the Christians, for it was full of merchants of every language. Now, where there is much trade there is much injustice, and the Lord might literally answer those who were praying for the safety of the Holy City in the words of Jeremiah v. 1: 'Run ye to and fro through the streets of Jerusalem, and see now, and know, and seek in the broad places thereof, if ye can find a man, if there be any that executeth judgment, that seeketh the truth, and I will pardon it.' Because of these things the Lord was moved to wrath, and suffered the

land which He had taken from the hands of the unbelievers to fall again under their dominion. Saladin came to Jerusalem with a great army, sat down before it, raised a bank against it on the western side, and vexed the besieged by continual attacks ; but as the citizens made what defence they could, he battered the city on the north side by day and by night. When he had broken down the wall by his engines, the citizens, who had no expectation of succour from any quarter, and feared that the enemy would burst into the city and take it by storm, yielded to the imminent peril which menaced them, and gave themselves up to Saladin on certain conditions, to wit, that after he had received their ransoms he should let such of them as would depart in peace. Saladin, being naturally a kind-hearted man, had compassion on the people, and granted these conditions to them. He granted them all their lives, with no exception, on condition that he who would abide there and pay him tribute should dwell in safety ; and that whosoever wished to depart, if he were of the male sex and more than ten years of age, should pay ten ducats of pure gold ; if he were below the age of ten years he should pay two ducats, and that women should pay five ducats. These conditions were agreed to by both parties ; but as there were many thousands of poor people in the city who had not so much as ten pence, Saladin forgave all of these their debt.

This surrender of the Holy City came to pass on the second day of October, which was the fourteenth day of the siege, in the year of our Lord 1187, on a Friday, in the eighty-ninth year since it had belonged to the Christians.

Notice was now given by proclamation throughout the city that all the Christians therein must leave it within three days, or become the subjects of the infidel Saladin—

a thing which had long before been forbidden by the Pope with the utmost severity, he having ordered that in such a case no Christian should remain there, and that whosoever remained should be excommunicated, anathematized, and utterly cut off from the Church. At the voice of the herald making this doleful proclamation, so great a wailing arose in Jerusalem that the lamentations of the Christians could be heard several miles away. It is said that even Saladin and his cruel princes were stricken to the heart by these cries, and were moved to tears through their humane compassion for the sorrow of the Christians, insomuch that they forgave everyone his debt who begged them so to do. Furthermore, Saladin gave orders to his men-at-arms that none of them should enter the city before the day appointed for the departure of the Christians. On the appointed day the Christians, with all their household furniture, came forth, filling the heavens and shaking the earth with their dreadful cries and lamentations. Before them all went the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Herodius, with the cross, the clergy, monks, and religious persons of both sexes; and the nuns, who had been shut up in convents, all of whom followed the Patriarch in a long procession, bearing images and crosses, relics and monstrances, which would have been trodden under foot by the infidels. After these came the nobles and men-at-arms, with drooping heads, full of shame and sorrow; and after them came the commonalty of both sexes, unwillingly carrying their little ones, who cried and wept, together with their cattle.

In front of the city the Christians separated, one part going to Alexandria, one to Tyre, and one to Antioch, while some went down to one seaport, and some to another, because some were Sicilians, and these went to Alexandria; others were Italians, or Germans, and these went to Tyre or Tripoli. The greater part of them went

down to the port of Tripoli, and what befell them on their way thither can scarce be told without tears, and certainly not without pity; for when these sorrowful exiles from Jerusalem were come nigh unto the city of Tripoli, on beholding it, they felt somewhat refreshed in spirit, because therein were only Christ's faithful people, from whom they hoped to receive the succour and pity which they deserved, and they now believed that they had escaped from the hands of the Saracens; but they met with sacrilegious men, worse than the Saracens themselves; for Raymond, Count of Tripoli, who was secretly an apostate from the faith, as I have said on page 179, together with his companions, children of iniquity, met the wanderers, and like cruel foes attacked those whom they ought to have pitied like brethren. He forcibly took from them what the very Saracens had left to them out of compassion, and greatly abused them as well. In this calamitous state, as they could not now take ship or return to their own land, many stayed where they were among the Saracens, in disobedience to the aforesaid command; many renounced their faith; many perished with hunger; many slew themselves out of grief. We read of one lady who had been rich and noble in Jerusalem, and now had carried her little son upon her shoulders all the way to the sea-side near Tripoli, hoping to pass over the sea; but when she came thither she was utterly robbed of all her property, and had nought wherewith to feed her child, [6] so that in womanish frenzy she flung her own child into the sea.

When all the Christians had gone out of Jerusalem, the Saracens came into the Holy City, where they insulted the Christian name by stabling their beasts in the very churches, and doing foul acts therein, defiling those holy temples. They cast out of them and destroyed all images of God and the saints, and finding a figure of our Lord upon the

cross, they bore it into the public street to be mocked at, spat upon it, cast stones at it, and defiled it with all manner of uncleanness. Moreover, they brought forth those holy matrons and virgins who, out of an over-fond expectation of succour from heaven, had remained behind, that they might outrage them. It was then that the notable action took place,¹ whereof I have made mention above, on page 230; albeit, some declared that this was done when the city of Acon² fell for the last time.

In their frenzy they burst open the bars and doors of the Church of the Lord's Resurrection, made their way in, profaned the altars, broke the glass windows, and tore down the carven images from the walls. At last they went up the bell tower and broke the bells with hammers. They kept them there broken for a long time as a reproach to the Christians, and they were seen by the Lord Antonius, as is told us in his Chronicle, Part II., tit. xviii., ch. 9, § 18. I myself did not see the pieces of the bells, but only the beams and yokes whereon they had once been hung. Saladin did not wish the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre to be riotously destroyed, because of the precious marble columns and polished panelling, which he intended to take away by orderly work unharmed, and so gradually to destroy the church.

Next, after they had profaned the Christian churches, they went to what they call Solomon's temple, where they cast out all the Christian altars, hewed the images to pieces, and, having thus purified, or rather defiled it, washed the pavement and walls with rose-water, and poured much perfume over them, for they show a wondrous veneration for that place and temple. After these washings, which are their form of consecration, Saladin and his princes

¹ The cutting off the nuns' noses.

² Ptolemais.

entered it, and offered sacrifice according to the Mohamedan ritual.

Now, they of the Syrian and other like sects—that is to say, the Maronites, Jacobites, Georgians, Armenians, Nestorians, Abyssinians, or Indians, and other Eastern Christians, schismatics and heretics, went into Saladin's presence, swore allegiance to him, offered him tribute, and begged to be put in the place of the Latin Christians. Saladin willingly granted this, that there might be some people to dwell in the city. Furthermore, they redeemed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which they had heard was about to be destroyed, giving a mighty sum of gold and silver to Saladin to save it from being destroyed. He took the gold, and gave up the church to the Eastern Christians upon these two conditions, to wit: First, that no Western Christian should be suffered to enter without paying the appointed tax; and secondly, that they should no more hang bells in the belfry, but give notice of service by beating upon wooden boards. Wherefore from that day even until now no bell has been heard in Jerusalem for three hundred years.

After Saladin had thus taken Jerusalem, he placed a garrison therein and marched away with all his host to renew the siege of Ascalon. After he had assaulted it for some days, the citizens offered to surrender it, provided that Guy, King of Jerusalem, and the Grand Master of the Templars, whom Saladin had taken prisoners in battle, were delivered up to the Christians. Saladin willingly accepted these conditions, took over the city, and fulfilled [282 *a*] his promise, letting the King of Jerusalem, the Master of the Templars, and all their household depart freely. After Saladin had thus won that city, he betook himself to the other cities and castles of the Christians, and in a short space of time took them all save only certain towns

on the sea coast, to wit, Tripoli and Tyre ; for that most wicked traitor, Raymond, Count of Tripoli, was found dead in his bed on the night before that day whereon the city was to have been delivered up by him to Saladin, and the proofs of his apostasy, the marks of circumcision, and the letters disclosing his treachery were publicly shown to all men. Wherefore Guy, King of Jerusalem, having lost his own capital city, betook himself to Tripoli, and dwelt there with his princes. Tripoli is a sea-port town in the district of Phœnicia, and is strong, exceeding ancient, and well suited for trade.

THE CONDITION OF THE HOLY CITY AFTER ITS CAPTURE,
ITS TITULAR KINGS, THE VARIOUS TRANSFERENCES OF
THE TITLE OF KING OF JERUSALEM, AND SO FORTH ;
ALSO THE STIRRING UP OF ALL THE WEST AND THE
SUCCOURING OF THE HOLY LAND.

Now, when first Pope Urban III. heard that the Holy City had by the Lord's permission been yielded up into the hands of the infidels, nearly all the kingdom of Jerusalem lost, and the Christian people afflicted in many ways and driven in confusion out of the city, by reason of his exceeding great grief and sorrow he straightway took to his bed and died at Ferrara, where he chanced to be. Hereupon this ill news and piteous disaster thrilled all the kingdoms of the West, and all kings and princes girded up their loins to avenge the Christian blood that had been spilt. In the year of our Lord 1188 a general council was called together at Paris, at which a wondrous and incredible multitude of knights and foot-soldiers took the cross and vowed to succour the Holy Land.

In that same year the most illustrious Roman Emperor Frederick I. took the cross, together with his princes and nobles of Germany, and also Philip, King of France,

Henry, King of England, and all the other kings, and the archbishops, bishops, and prelates of God's Church, were marked with the cross. This uprising was so universal that all the world seemed to have agreed in this intention. A wondrous assembly of horse and foot was gathered together, and both by sea and by land they rushed with burning zeal to attack the infidels. At that time there was in Calabria one Abbot Joachim, a man of exceeding deep learning and surpassing genius. He was sent for by the kings and princes who were on their way to the Holy Land, and was asked by them what the end of their expedition would be. He replied that they would indeed pass over the sea, but that they would do but little towards recovering the Holy Land, because the time was not yet come for Jerusalem to be held by the Christians. As this great man said, so it fell out; for when they came into Syria, they took nothing save Ptolemais, which is called Acon,¹ in the course of two years. Acon was taken in the year of our Lord 1194, not by breaching its walls, but upon these conditions, that the Saracens should march out of it unhurt; that they should promise to restore to the Christians the wood of the cross, which Saladin had taken in war, as has been already told on page 280; and that they should pay 200,000 ducats. But as Saladin did not keep the promise made with the kings about the wood of the cross and about giving back Christian captives, King Richard one day ordered five thousand (Saracen prisoners) to be put to the sword.

During this time there died King Guy's two daughters, which he had by Sibylla, King Amalric's eldest daughter, and a short time after them their mother, the Lady Sibylla [b], also departed this life, and no one of the true royal family of the kings of Jerusalem remained alive save the

¹ Acre.

Lady Elizabeth,¹ wife of Humphrey of Toron. For Amalric, the sixth King of Jerusalem, had one son, Baldwin, a leper from his infancy, and two daughters, Sibylla and Elizabeth. On Amalric's death the leper came to the throne, but forasmuch as he could not marry, and had no heir, he made Sibylla, his elder sister, the heir to his kingdom, and her husband Guy reigned in her stead, while her sister Elizabeth married the Lord Humphrey. After the loss of the Holy Land and of Jerusalem, Sibylla, the Queen and heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem died, having no heir by her husband Guy. When Sibylla's sister Elizabeth heard of her death, she proclaimed herself Queen and heiress of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and gave out everywhere that her husband, Humphrey, was King in her stead, even as Guy had been instead of her sister.

Hereupon Humphrey addressed himself to the Western princes at Acon, and won over some of them to his cause, saying the kingdom was his wife's by right, both because of the express wish of her father, King Amalric, and the will and testament of her brother Baldwin, the leper king. On the other side, King Guy declared that he had been rightly and duly anointed and crowned at Jerusalem, and that he never could be deposed from the throne as long as he had done nothing in his kingdom which deserved dethronement. Henceforth these two, Guy and Humphrey, quarrelled about this matter, and each of them strove to win the favour of some of the princes for himself, while among the princes themselves there was more trouble and thought about who should be King of Jerusalem than about how Jerusalem should be won.

The Lord Henry, Count of Champagne, and many others, thought that the kingdom had passed to Elizabeth by her

¹ Usually known as Isabelle.

sister's death, and therefore it was enacted in favour of the aforesaid Count that all the port dues, fines levied on delinquents, and other payments due to the King of Jerusalem, should be received by Humphrey, so that Guy remained king in name only, being stripped of all jurisdiction, whereat the King justly complained that in violation of justice he was being despoiled of all the rights of his kingdom. Wherefore, calling together those who had ever been his faithful followers, he raised an army, and determined that he would entrust himself to fortune, and together with them would fight with the Saracens. When the greater princes heard of this they were afraid that if he went out to fight the Saracens with such a small force, and was overthrown, all the multitude that had been gathered together in God's service would break up ; wherefore it was enacted that all rights should be restored to King Guy as before. But Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, seeing that the kingdom had devolved upon the aforesaid Lady Elizabeth by hereditary right, out of covetousness for a kingdom, did a shameful deed, with the consent of her mother, Calomeria, the widow of the aforesaid Amalric, who was still alive ; for he carried off the aforesaid Elizabeth from her husband Humphrey, and forcibly took her to wife. This outrageous and detestable action displeased all the pilgrims, but they concealed their displeasure, because unless Conrad chose they could get no provisions from Tyre.

Moreover, he himself being a cunning man, won over some of the greater princes by gifts and services to his side, so that they would help him in this business. Afterwards this Marquis Conrad had seized Tyre, and was a powerful and famous man, because he had driven away Saladin and his army when he came to besiege Tyre, and therefore no one dared to cross him. Now, when the

Lord's army was being made ready for the siege of Jerusalem, the two most powerful kings, Philip King of France, and Richard King of England, had joined their forces together. [283 *a*] When Saladin heard of the approach of so great an army, he bethought him of surrendering Jerusalem to the Christians, and sent ambassadors to the Kings to arrange negotiations. When the two Kings heard this, to speak truly, the devil entered into both of them, and each one of them strove with all his might to forestall and get the better of the other, to the end that he might become King of Jerusalem. Thus there arose division between the two armies, and the princes quarrelled among themselves about the holy principality of Jerusalem. While they disputed thus, Philip King of France threw up the whole business in a rage and went back to Europe with all his army. For since the King of France had always stood by the Kings of Jerusalem, defended them, and maintained them in their kingdom, he had thought it right that when the royal family died out the title of the kingdom should be vested in himself; but now, as he saw that this could not come to pass without breaking the peace of Christendom, he drew off in a rage. When Saladin heard that the army of the Christians was diminished in number by the departure of the King of France, he gave up his intention of surrendering Jerusalem to the Christians, fortified the Holy City, and placed a garrison of soldiers therein. Meanwhile King Richard stayed in Syria and vigorously waged war against the Saracens.

In A.D. 1197, when Richard was still in Syria, Guy of Lusignan, King of Jerusalem, who in former years had been overthrown by Saladin, seeing Richard's courage and greatness of soul, made over to him the title and rights of the kingdom of Jerusalem on condition that Richard would give him the island of Cyprus, which Richard had taken

from the Greeks, for his own. King Richard did this most willingly, and made Guy King of Cyprus, while he himself became King of Jerusalem and of England, and put two crowns upon his head. For this cause the Kings of England still make use of this title. But after the departure of King Richard, Guy resumed the title, saying that the capital of his kingdom had been removed from Jerusalem to Cyprus. However, those princes who still owned strong places in Syria would not recognise him as king, forasmuch as they knew that he had in truth lost the kingdom, and lost the title to it also. Now, King Richard, being elated and encouraged by the title of the longed-for kingdom, began to make ready to march up to Jerusalem and lay siege to it, but as the winter came on and his fleet became scattered in all directions, he changed his mind, made a truce with Saladin, prepared to return home, and handed over the charge of the Christian army and the rights of the kingdom to his nephew, Henry Count of Champagne, and so left the business half-completed and went away, adding sorrow to sorrow for the desolate people of the land ; for he counted the King of France as his rival, and feared lest he might invade his country in his absence. As King Richard was going home by sea, by God's will he suffered shipwreck during a violent storm, but he got safe ashore with a few of his followers, and while making his way exceeding secretly through Austria, was taken prisoner by Leopold, the duke of that country, stripped of all his property, and delivered over to the Emperor Henry, the son of Frederick, who had perished in the former expedition to Jerusalem. By him he was kept in prison for a year and a half, but was set free on payment of two hundred thousand silver marks,¹ and returned to England. I think that this

¹ Fuller, in his 'Holy Warre,' quoting Matthew Paris, says : 'One hundred and forty thousand marks, Cologne weight.'

tribulation was brought upon him because he went about to gain the kingdom of Jerusalem for himself, and when he had got it, left it in sorrow and vexation and fled away. Now, the afore-mentioned Count of Champagne, to whom the English King entrusted the care of the Christian army, who was a pious and wise man, thinking the land to be left desolate after the departure of the two Kings of France and England, determined that he himself would stay therein and spend his life in God's service. Seeing his pious disposition, the Master of the Temple and the other pilgrims chose him to be King of Jerusalem, and gave him the Lady Elizabeth, the daughter of King Amalric, for his wife, because her husband, [b] the Marquis of Tyre, was dead, as also was Humphrey, her first husband.

After he had reigned for two years, while he was leaning against a window in the upper story of his palace, he fell down and miserably perished, and so the kingdom of Jerusalem was again without a king. This came to pass in A.D. 1197. In the following year countless multitudes of the faithful came to Acon over the sea, ready to fight for the recovery of Jerusalem, but as there was none to lead them, and no king in the Holy Land, the host melted idly away, and the people returned to their homes, after having spent much money to no purpose.

After this, on March 30th, A.D. 1202, there was the greatest earthquake ever seen in Syria. The city of Acon, with all its palaces and many other buildings, was overthrown, and the like fate befell many other cities.

In A.D. 1215 Pope Innocent III. called together an exceeding great synod at Rome in the Lateran, at which council thirteen hundred bishops are said to have been present. Among these was the Lord Fulke, Bishop of Toulouse, a notable man. He came into the presence of Pope Innocent, bringing St. Dominic with him, and begged for

a confirmation of the Order which is called that of St. Dominic. At first the Pope could hardly be persuaded to this, but afterwards he saw in a dream the Lateran Church with all its joints loosened and about to fall down, but that man of God, Dominic, ran to it and held up the whole of the tottering fabric. Wherefore on the morrow he sent for St. Dominic, approved of the proposal, and joyfully agreed to do what he asked. In the following year Dominic received a confirmation of his Order from Honorius III.

Besides bishops there were in the aforesaid council the Patriarchs of Jerusalem and of Constantinople, many legates of the Greek and Roman empires, and also envoys from the Kings of Jerusalem, France, Spain, England, and Cyprus. Though many excellent regulations were promulgated by this council, yet the chief debate thereat was about the recovery of the Holy Land and of Jerusalem; about how to raise money for this work, how the crusade should be preached, how men should be invested with the sign of the cross, and who should be the captains of companies and the captains of armies. So from the time of that council St. Dominic let his beard grow, meaning to go forth with the soldiers to battle against the infidel Saracens, even as he had for a long time fought by preaching against the heretical Albigensians; and after this council there was a wondrous gathering of the people of the West to set free Jerusalem and the Holy Land. At this same time young children from the kingdoms of France and Germany to the number of twenty thousand assumed the sign of the cross, and declared that they meant to go and help the Holy Land. They went in crowds to divers sea-ports, from whence they returned home hungry and penniless. The story went that the Old Man of the Mountain, who was wont to bring up the Assassins from their childhood, had for a long time kept two schismatic

priests in prison. These priests were deeply learned men, and he, finding that they were skilled in necromancy, declared that he would never let them go unless they promised to bring children from France and Germany to him. They say, therefore, that the aforesaid children were led by these men through devilish enchantments and false visions to assume the cross, on the ground that God had decreed that the Holy Land and Jerusalem could only be set free by innocent children. Now, when they came to the sea ports, many of them were drowned by pirates, many were sold as slaves to Saracens and other foreigners, many died of hunger, and some went home to their parents. A like delusion prevailed among children in our own time, in the year 1454, when they wanted to make a pilgrimage to St. Michael's Mount. Whether this pilgrimage was useful or no was proved by the futile ending thereof.

[284 *a*] In A.D. 1217, after the Lateran Council, numberless men were marked with the cross, that they might fight against the Albigensian heretics; for example, Simon, Count of Montfort, among whose followers were our holy Father Dominic, Guy, the son of the aforesaid count, and Louis, the son of the King of France. But, nevertheless, some, and they the greater part, were marked with the cross, that they might succour the Holy Land and recover Jerusalem. For in that year the time of truce between the Christians and Saracens came to an end, wherefore the Christian army which had assumed the cross after the Lateran Council crossed the sea and came to Ptolemais or Acon. It was a numerous army, with three kings, to wit, the Kings of Jerusalem, Hungary, and Cyprus. There was also present with them the Duke of Austria and Pannonia, and a great number of soldiers from Germany. At this time the King of Jerusalem was named John, who once was Duke of Brienne, in France, and had been some

years before elected King of Jerusalem. He was both devout and brave in arms, and came of the blood of that most illustrious man Godfrey, the first King of Jerusalem. He was married to the daughter of Conrad, the late marquis, and they were both crowned at Tyre. Having thus taken up arms, the Crusaders began to make mighty preparations for war against the enemies of the cross, and when they were ready to set out, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, amid the deep respect of the clergy and people, reverently took up in his hands the life-giving wood of the cross, and bore it into the Lord's camp. This was one half part of the holy cross which was found in the church in the time of the famous Godfrey, the first King of Jerusalem. One half was always kept in the church, while the other was taken to the wars in the camp. It was this latter half that was taken by Saladin from Guy, the last King of Jerusalem, as I have already said ; and after it was lost the Christians took the remaining part of the holy cross and fought under it.

They now formed their ranks and marched with this ensign to the place where the Saracen host was said to be, intending to do battle with the infidels. But they, when they learned the approach of the army by their scouts, fled away in terror, and our people marched without hindrance into the country of Galilee, doing much hurt to the enemy, and essayed to take the Mount Tabor, but after much toil, by the counsel of some of their number, they raised the siege, and the army returned to Acon, because it was winter, and the season for campaigning was past. When winter was over the Christian army would again have taken arms against the Saracens, but in consequence of our sins our army was split into four parts, for the King of Hungary, to the great injury of the Christians, fitted out ships his for a voyage and went home, taking with him a great part of

the Crusading army, with their galleys and warlike stores; neither would he listen to the patriarch, who called upon him to remain. Wherefore the patriarch pronounced sentence of excommunication upon him and upon everyone else who should act as he did. Some of the pilgrims, either through luxury or fear, became so cowardly that they would not go outside the gates of Acre. Howbeit, the King of Jerusalem and the Duke of Austria, with his barons, a great part of the German army, and the Knights of St. John, built a strong castle at Caesarea in Palestine, and could not be driven away from thence, though they were often told that the enemy was at hand. Yet the Templars, together with the house of the Hospitallers and the Teutonic knights, rebuilt the Pilgrims' Castle, which had long ago been destroyed. While they were laying the foundations thereof, an ancient and thick wall was laid bare, into which they dug with iron tools, and found a great plenty of certain golden coins, the inscription and figure whereof was unknown to the moderns, which coins they melted down, and paid their soldiers' wages with them. The site of this castle is as follows: A great and wide promontory juts out into the sea, which promontory is naturally fortified by cliffs on the north, west, and south sides, while upon the east side there stands a strong tower, originally [*b*] built by the Templars for the protection of pilgrims. The building of this castle was useful, because the monastery of the Templars was thereby brought out of the city of Acon, which was full of all manner of sin and wickedness, and established as a garrison for this castle until such time as the walls of Jerusalem should be rebuilt.

In A.D. 1218 a crusade against the Easterns was continually preached throughout all the West; wondrous crosses were seen in the sky in the country of Cologne and Treves, and these and other miracles greatly stirred up all

Germany to cross the seas. The Germans assembled in great numbers, and sailed to Ptolemais, or Acon, in the month of March. After the feast of the Lord's Ascension they left their coggcs (transports) and their beaked war galleys, and John, King of Jerusalem, together with the patriarch, the pilgrims, the Duke of Austria, the three Orders, and the vast multitude of Christians, took counsel as to how they might carry out the decision of the Lateran Council, which had come to the conclusion that the Christian army ought to be sent into Egypt ; for in that council it was proved by experts that it would not be possible for Christians to reign in peace in Syria and the Holy Land, unless Egypt were joined to their kingdom. This was proved by the facts, for as soon as ever the parts of Syria about Damascus became leagued with Egypt in the days of Amalric, King of Jerusalem, the kingdom of Jerusalem was straightway brought into great peril, whereas before that alliance no man could hurt the holy kingdom. Wherefore the holy fathers who sat in the aforesaid council decreed that Egypt must first be conquered, and that afterwards the army might march to the conquest of the Holy Land and the other countries of the East. Wherefore, in the month of May, the fleet was made ready, and the aforesaid John, King of Jerusalem, together with the Duke of Austria and a multitude of Christian people, sailed with a fair wind to the harbour of Damietta. The city of Damietta stands by the sea-shore, and is also called by another name, Pachneumurus (*sic*). It was an exceeding strongly-fenced chief city of Egypt, rich and populous, and full of merchandise.

Our people arrived at the port of Damietta and waited at sea three days for some of their captains, but before their arrival they landed, and in spite of the pagans began the siege of the city on the side next the sea. Day by day

the host of the living God grew larger, so that the Soldan, who had pitched his camp on the other side of the city, fled away, together with his army, and our people crossed the river, invested the whole city, and pressed it exceeding hard, while they pitched their camp between the sea-shore and the river Nile. The Lord performed this miracle that as soon as they were come thither the river water became sweet where it joins the sea, and the water did not overflow as much as usual, as though to keep a dry place for the people of God ; but after a while the rising waters came into the camp, and therewith pestilence came abroad among our army.

While the Christians were thus obstinately besieging Damietta, Corradirius, the son of the Great Soldan, gathered together an army of his countrymen, marched into Syria to Jerusalem, and utterly destroyed that Holy City within and without, all save the Lord's temple and the tower of David. This he did that the Christians, after taking Damietta, might not have any strong place inland and establish themselves in the kingdom of Jerusalem ; for if Damietta were to fall they had no hope to be able to defend Jerusalem. While the pagans were ruining Jerusalem they debated whether they should also destroy the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre, but no man dared to lay hands thereon ; yet our people were disturbed by letters which the infidels sent into our camp before Damietta, declaring that unless the siege were raised straightway they would utterly destroy the Church of the Resurrection. After destroying Jerusalem, Corradirius beleaguered, took and destroyed some newly-built castles of the Christians. Meanwhile, as the city of Damietta [285 *a*] was suffering from the sword, famine and pestilence in the course of the long siege, the common people began to murmur against the Soldan and against the great lords who governed the city, declaring that they could no longer endure the miseries of the siege.

The Soldan, when he learned this, restrained them from surrendering the place, and gave orders to his people within to block up their gates on the inside, lest the citizens, who were suffering from hunger and famine, might desert to the Christians and tell them what misery the city was in. Not only did men suffer from hunger within the city, but also in the Saracen camp, which stood not far from ours, there was a sharp famine; for the river Nile, which after the feast of St. John the Baptist¹ is wont to overflow his banks until the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross,² and to water the plain of Egypt, that year did not rise as usual to the mark which the Egyptians have set up, but left a great part of the land uncovered and dry, so that it was not worth while either to plough or to sow it that year. The Soldan therefore fearing famine in the future, he, together with his brother³ Corradirius, offered peace to the Christians on the following conditions, to wit, that he would render up to them the cross which had been taken by Saladin in his victory, together with the holy city of Jerusalem, and all the captives who could be found alive throughout Egypt and the kingdom of Damascus; also, he offered them money to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, and would have restored the entire kingdom of Jerusalem, even as the Christians formerly held it, together with Praecurchum and Montreal, which are two castles near Jerusalem, through which Saracen merchants and pilgrims on their way to Mecca are wont to pass. All this the Soldan was willing to do provided that the Christians would desist from besieging Damietta, and would raise the siege and draw off their forces into Syria.

King John of Jerusalem and all his nobles, the Duke of Austria, and all the German captains thought that these

¹ June 24.

² October 14.

³ The former Soldan, 'Meladine,' had died meanwhile. See Fuller's 'Holy Warre,' iii. 27, and iv. 14.

terms ought by all means to be accepted, and that they were exceeding advantageous to the Christians; but Pelagius, the Pope's legate, the patriarch, bishops, and archbishops, the Templars and Hospitallers, the Venetians, Genoese and other Italians opposed these terms, and there was a great division in our army; for the secular princes and commons would have most willingly accepted peace together with the Holy City and entire kingdom of Jerusalem, and have raised the siege, which would have been a good and salutary thing to do; but on the other hand, the legate, the prelates of the church, and the Italian traders called aloud for the taking of Damietta, as they reckoned that if once that city were won, Jerusalem and all the rest would easily fall into their hands. But he who rubs too hard draws blood: and thus it was with them, for this business of theirs turned out ill in the end; indeed, the greediness of the Churchmen and the unquenchable avarice of the merchants, who managed it, could not rightly bring it to a happy issue. Howbeit, since Damietta, that proud mistress of the sea and despoiler of the Christians, was to be conquered, all this was suffered to come to pass by the will of God. Now, when Saladin (*sic*) was hopeless of obtaining peace, he sent a great number of foot-soldiers into the town by night, many of whom were taken or slain by our people. At the bidding of the legate, some knights were sent up to the gate of the city by night to see how it was guarded, and they, covered by their shields, made their way up to the gate. As they saw no man above or near the gate, they set up ladders against the walls, called their comrades, and climbed up the walls, whereupon they went down into the city, threw open the gate, and let in their comrades. They slew the Saracens who came to meet them, and by the noise of this fight the rest of the army was roused, snatched up arms, and so they took the city

before the Soldan's eyes without any battle or hurt to the Christians. The city was taken on the 5th day of November, A.D. 1219. The Soldan, when he saw the city in the hands of the Christians, was terror-stricken, burned his camp, and retreated. When the Christians entered Damietta, they were met by an unbearable stench from the dead men's corpses, which were [*b*] so many that the living had not been able to bury them. It was a piteous sight to see men, women, and children starved to death. The streets and houses were full of them, for the living had not been able to bury the dead, and the dead had slain the living by their stench. In the twenty months during which the city had been besieged, more than seven thousand of the infidels had perished of hunger and pestilence. In the city were found about three thousand men-at-arms, of whom four hundred of the noblest, together with the richest citizens of both sexes, were kept as hostages for the redemption of our captives among the Saracens. The rest were sold to the Christians for slaves, and the children were baptized. There was scarce any food found in the city, but gold and silver, precious stones, cloth of gold and silk, and other valuables without end, all of which, under penalty of a terrible curse, were brought into a public stock and divided among the army by honest men so equally that even poor women and boys received a proportionate part thereof.

When Damietta was taken and set in order, they took another exceeding strong city also, named Tanis, because they found it altogether deserted.

In the year of our Lord 1221, at the instigation of the devil, a dispute arose between Pelagius the legate and John, King of Jerusalem; for the legate, puffed up with pride, and forgetful of his clerical orders, would have taken upon himself the governance of the entire host, arrayed the

army for battle, and wished the credit of the taking of the city of Damietta to be ascribed to himself alone. The King thought shame that in his country military matters should be managed by priests, but, being a prudent man, preferred to give way rather than to dispute. He therefore made some excuses for his departure, took with him a few of his own servants, left the army, and went to Syria. Meanwhile, the army daily grew larger, and a great number of ships arrived at Damietta from the West. Pelagius now called together the chiefs, and gave his opinion that they should march against the Soldan, who lay encamped on the bank of the Nile, at a distance of one day's journey from Damietta. The master of the forces objected to this, neither had the legate power to move the army in the King's absence. Wherefore the legate, seeing that unless the King were present the crusade could not be carried on, sent a formal embassy to him, begging that he would appear and prove to the host that he was a true son of the Church of Rome, and would return to the army which so eagerly awaited him. The wise King gathered together an army and marched down from Syria. When he heard the legate's proposal to attack, he gave his advice strongly against fighting, for he said that if the Christian people were to move at that time, they could not be reached by reinforcements from Damietta either by land or by water, especially as the season for the overflowing of the Nile was at hand. But the legate, being vexed at the King's wise and thoughtful counsel, launched a general excommunication against all who hindered the carrying out of his plan. When the King saw that the legate's mind could not be turned aside from his intention, he, albeit with extreme reluctance, out of his deference to the Church, offered to march against the Soldan and fight with him. But as the King foresaw, so it befell, and the Christians came into

such straits by reason of hunger, the rising of the Nile, and the attacks of the Soldan, that they were forced to make peace with the Soldan, to give up Damietta, and to retreat in confusion from Egypt into Syria.

Hereupon a truce for eight years was made between the Christians and the Saracens, and our people surrendered Damietta, and went away with shame, every man to his own place. Lo, how useful it would have been had they accepted the first terms that were offered, which the King of Jerusalem and all the Frenchmen and Germans would most willingly have done ; but the pride of that accursed legate lost the kingdom of Jerusalem, restored Damietta to the Saracens, and [286*a*] scattered and ruined the people. It is a wonder that that Pelagius, or rather 'Sea (Pelagus) of Perdition,' was not torn into a thousand pieces ; for had we received Jerusalem at that time on the conditions upon which the Soldan was willing to give it up to us, it would be in our hands at this day, and the holy sepulchre would be free.

In A.D. 1223, John, King of Jerusalem, grieved at the loss of Damietta, and more so at the loss of the whole kingdom of Jerusalem, which the Christians had had in their hands and refused to take, after settling his states in Syria as well as he could, took ship for the West, that he might beg the Church of Rome and the Christian princes for help. When he came to Pope Gregory IX., he found him greatly vexed and troubled by the Emperor Frederick II. Hereupon the King of Jerusalem reconciled these two, namely, the Pope and the Emperor, to confirm which reconciliation Gregory gave to Frederick the only daughter of the oft-mentioned John, King of Jerusalem, to wife, and the Emperor himself promised that he would go across the sea to Syria in his own proper person to recover the Holy Land. After the wedding had been celebrated

with exceeding great solemnity in the city of Rome, the King of Jerusalem asked the Emperor to make ready his army, while he himself remained in the West. The King now journeyed to Spain, where he visited the shrine of St. James the Apostle. He there married the daughter of the King of Galicia, and thence sailed to England, where he received many gifts from the King and his barons to help him to win the Holy Land. At this same time King Philip of France ended his life, leaving by his will, among other bequests, a hundred thousand Parisian dollars to the King of Jerusalem to help him to win back the Holy Land, the same amount to the Knights Templars, and the same to the Hospitallers.

Philip was succeeded on the throne by his son Louis, who was crowned at Rheims. John, King of Jerusalem, was present at his coronation. After some years had passed, when by means of Pope Gregory a fleet had been gathered together, composed of men of many nations, to be sent into Syria against the enemies of the cross, he called upon the Emperor to fulfil his promise of crossing the sea to succour the Holy Land. The Emperor, with a great host, joined the Pope's army, and the Emperor and the Pope's legate set sail from Brundisium in Apulia.

But after they had sailed a little way, the Emperor ordered his fleet to sail back to Apulia, and he himself returned with it, to the great scandal and injury of Christendom; wherefore the Pope, in his indignation against him, excommunicated him a second time for a perjured traitor. They say that Frederick returned because he had heard that in his absence the Pope meant to give Sicily and Apulia to John, King of Jerusalem, to his own prejudice. Others say that Frederick gave up the crusade because the Soldan sent envoys to him, who brought him letters and great bribes, and promised that

he should have the kingdom of Jerusalem without war or bloodshed, provided that he would hinder that voyage of the Christians.

After this the aforesaid Frederick got a large army together, and went off to the Holy Land without any orders from the Pope, and more, it is believed, in order to receive the kingdom of Jerusalem, which was offered him by the Soldan, than out of any zeal for the faith or desire to serve Christendom. So the Emperor sent to the Soldan [b] and asked him for Jerusalem, which was given to him; whereupon he went up into Jerusalem with his German knights and barons and the rest of his followers, and caused himself to be crowned King of Jerusalem in mid-Lent¹ in the year of our Lord 1225. Thus without any opposition he became possessed of the whole kingdom and of the Holy City, albeit he suffered the Saracens to remain in their dwellings, and also gave up to them the Lord's temple, called Solomon's temple, for them to sing the praises of Mahomet in. This peaceful arrangement was not agreed to by the Cardinal Pope's legate, nor by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, nor by the Knights Templars, the Hospitallers, nor the other barons of the Empire, save only the Germans and Sicilians, nor yet by the leaders of the Crusaders, because all these persons held this peace to be a fraudulent one, which had been arranged that it might bring an injury and confusion upon the Christians, and be a hindrance to the conquest of the Holy Land. The Templars were especially forward in stirring up the faithful against the Emperor, and warning them not to believe his acts to be righteous or true. Indeed, the Emperor was much an enemy to the Templars, and it was

¹ Fuller, quoting Matthew Paris, says, 'Frederick . . . on Easter Day triumphantly entering Jerusalem, crowned himself with his own hands' ('Holy Warre,' iii. 31).

out of hatred to them that he gave up the Lord's temple to the Saracens, lest it should fall into their hands.

When Jerusalem was thus taken, the Emperor sent ambassadors to Pope Gregory begging for absolution from excommunication, because he had by the aid of God fulfilled his vow in Syria. But the Pope would not absolve him, because he knew that he was in league with the Soldan, and that his possession of the kingdom of Jerusalem was only a pretended one. The Emperor also sent ambassadors to the Kings of France and England, and to the other Western princes, to inform them of the recovery of the Lord's sepulchre, and of his own coronation. Finally, the Pope, in addition to the sentence of greater excommunication which had been passed against him, ordained that John, King of Jerusalem, who at that time was in Lombardy, should enter Apulia at the head of the armed forces of the Church, and call upon the people to join him in rebellion against the Emperor. Thus John took many cities and districts of Apulia. When the Emperor learned this, he left his seneschal as governor of Jerusalem and the kingdom, returned to Apulia, and recovered his lost territory.

Now, the seneschal while governor of the Holy Land brought many evils upon the Christians, and took their castles by storm. Since he himself was unable to manage these castles he gave them to the Saracens. Then dissensions arose, the seneschal was overthrown and perished, and thus the whole kingdom of Jerusalem again fell into the hands of the Saracens.

When the Pope saw that the affairs of the Holy Land were going from bad to worse because of the pretended friendly alliance of the Emperor, he assembled the Dominican and Minorite friars, and bade them preach a crusade throughout the West for the succour of the Holy Land.

In A.D. 1230 a very great army was gathered together. They put to sea and reached Acre. In this army were many noble and illustrious men. After they had rested for some days at Acre, they decided to attack some strong place belonging to the Saracens. The Count of Norbri- cania rashly sallied forth with his followers, took several towns by storm, and brought back an exceeding great booty of prisoners and animals. When the others saw this they were urged by rivalry to attempt the like exploits ; so they arrayed their forces, left the city early in the morn- ing, and marched over the sand through Palestine all day and all the following night. On the next day they saw that they were near the city of Gaza, wherein at that time a great many Saracens were gathered together. These Saracens were forewarned of the approach of our people, and had laid ambushes, and as our people went fearlessly on, they fell upon them, and made a great slaughter among them, insomuch that almost all of them were taken or slain, and few got back to Acre. Meanwhile, [287 *a*] Richard, the brother of the King of England, came to Acre with a mighty following, but, finding the army panic- stricken, and thinking that he could do nothing against the Saracens, made a truce with them for eight years.

A COUNCIL.

In A.D. 1242 Innocent IV. was made Pope. He held a general council at Lyons, where he debated the question of the recovery of the Holy Land, and cited the disobedient Emperor to appear in person.

The Emperor sent excuses, and begged for pardon, promising that within the year he would prevail upon the Soldan to restore the Holy Land to the Christians. But as he did not in any wise keep this and his other promises, he was excommunicated, condemned, and deposed from

his office by the Pope, and died excommunicate, being smothered by his own son.

Afterwards, in A.D. 1244, during the pontificate of Innocent IV., there arose a devilish dispute among the Christians in the city of Acre in Syria, between the Genoese and the Venetians, because each one of these two states wished to be greater than the other, and the two parties quarrelled to such a degree that their fleets fought with one another before the very eyes of the Saracens, and the sea became exceeding dangerous, so much so, that no pilgrims dared to visit the holy places, for both parties were powerful both by sea and by land, and were a terror to Christians and Saracens alike. Now, when the Soldan saw that his own land was endangered by these wars of the Christians against one another, he called in the Gros-sonian Tartars, an Arabian people, who came into the kingdom of Jerusalem, overthrew the Christians there, and slew many of them before the city of Gaza. At length they made their way into Jerusalem, where they fought with the Templars and Hospitallers, who dwelt there by permission of the Soldan, and slew many of the remnant of them. Moreover, they destroyed the glorious sepulchre of the Lord, and defiled the Church of Christ with every kind of abomination.

In the year of our Lord 1248, Saint Louis, King of France, being dangerously ill, prayed to God that he might recover his health, vowing that he would make a pilgrimage over-sea. When he was restored to health he assumed the cross with many barons of his kingdom, and sailed for Syria with a great host. Many kings advised him to make a land journey through Asia Minor and take Turkey itself, for the Tartars had so wasted and weakened the land of Turkey the year before that had the King gone through it, without doubt they would have surrendered the country to

him. But other counsels prevailed, and he put to sea and came to Cyprus. When the Soldan heard this, he was afraid, wherefore he sent to the King many Christian boys, whom he had won over with bribes, that they might poison the King and his princes, but by the will of God they themselves were taken and put to death. Louis next made peace between the Venetians, the Genoese, and the Pisans, and so set forth to fight against the infidels.

In the year of our Lord 1249, while the King's fleet was making ready for sea, there came to help him the Duke of Burgundy and the Prince of Achaia, with a multitude of ships. The hosts were called together, and proclamation was made to them that, with God's aid, they would direct their course towards Egypt, to besiege Damietta. They then set sail, and having a fair wind, on the following day they beheld the land of Egypt, and soon afterwards the city of Damietta. When they cast anchor they saw that the shore was full of Saracens, both horse and foot, while the mouth of the Nile was crowded with ships, intended to hinder our people's attack. [b] On the morrow our people landed in boats, and took the guardships in the Nile, slaying many Saracens. When the Saracens who were in the city saw this they were terrified, and gave up all hope of being able to defend the city; wherefore they stole away from it by night, after setting it on fire in several places, that it might be of no use to the Christians. Thus was the city of Damietta taken a second time, and the King and his army sojourned there during the whole summer, for they could not fight with the infidels because of the overflowing of the Nile. When the summer was over the King arrayed his army and marched out to battle, overthrew all the troops of the enemy that he met, and took their camp. But since our people now believed that they had won a complete victory, they rashly broke up our

line of battle and scattered themselves over the whole district. When the enemy saw this they recovered their spirits, and charged our men so furiously that they almost put them to flight. As they were now attacked upon all sides a terrible slaughter took place among them, especially among those noblemen who followed the King's banner, and the war went so sore against our people that out of all their number few escaped being either put to the sword or taken prisoner by the infidels; moreover, the pious and illustrious Louis, King of the French, together with his two brothers, Charles and Alphonso, fell captive into the hands of the enemy. When the Soldan had taken the Christians and their King prisoners, he forced the King to treat of truce and terms of agreement; and after many interviews they arranged that the King should give up Damietta to the Soldan, together with all the matters found therein, eight thousand Saracen pieces of gold and all the prisoners; while the Soldan was to give up the King and all the captive Christians who were then or had before been made prisoners in Egypt or Syria, with all their belongings. After these terms of peace had been settled the King returned to Syria, where he remained for five years to protect the faithful. But when he heard of the death of the Lady Blanche, his most pious mother, he settled affairs in Syria and returned to his kingdom.

After the expiration of some years the King, grieved at the oppressed state of the Holy City of Jerusalem, and filled with a fresh zeal for the holy places, forgot all his disasters and all the miseries which he had suffered in those parts, and a second time set out to recover the Holy Land, accompanied by his two sons, the King of Navarre, the Apostolic Legate, and many prelates, priests, and spiritual persons. By the advice of his peers he sailed to Africa, intending to take Tunis, after the taking of which

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